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Toward the Democratization of the Olympic Movement and the "United Nations'" Proposal for Olympic Change

by

Ambrose Alexandrakis

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF Master of Arts

Department of Physical Education and Sport Studies

Edmonton, Alberta

Spring 1987

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Date March 2, 1987

ABSTRACT

The present thesis examines the problem of the democratization of the International Olympic Committee (I.O.C.) and the Olympic Movement, through the consideration of the "United Nations'" Proposal put forward by the president of Cuba, F. Castro. Aspects of power and control from a nation-class perspective are discussed for both organizations, the I.O.C. and the United Nations. A conclusion is reached that both organizations are dominated by opposite politico-economical interest-groups, which fact may be the explanation to Castro's request that the United Nations handle the Olympics Games's organization. In fact the I.O.C.'s structure and ideology suggests a neo-feudalist type of organization, which utilizes the principle of cooptation for the selection of its membership as opposed to the principle of the universality of membership and the one nation - one vote principle. F. Castro's "United Nations" Proposal was accepted as a valuable critique and a negation of the current I.O.C.'s structure and ideology, but it was also suggested that negation would probably be preferable to occur from within the I.O.C. rather than through the utilization of forces external to it.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

I.O.C.: International Olympic Committee.

U.N.(O.): United Nations (Organization)

UNESCO: United Nations Educational and Scientific Organization.

I.N.G.O.: International Non-governmental Organization.

I.G.O.: International Gavernmental Organizations.

I.C.P.E.S.: International Committee for Physical Education and Sport.

N.A.M.: Non-Aligned Movement.

W.H.O.: World Health Organization.

W.C.S.: World Capitalist System.

W.S.S.: World Socialist System.

I. CHAPTER ONE: Statement of the Problem

A. Preface

Since the inception of the Modern Olympic Movement in 1894, its organizational structure in the form of the Internatinal Olympic Committee (I.O.C.) has, from time to time, been under pressure to change from an essentially oligarchical, self perpetuating elite to a more representative, elected, democratic forum for the development of sporting excellence of all peoples. This push for the democratization of the Olympic Movement's structural premises began in earnest in 1952 with the limited acceptance of the socialist and the newly-liberated developing nations. Still, the essential structure of the Olympic Movement has remained quite undemocratic with political representation decided ascriptively from the "top down" and real power and control retained by the self-appointed I.O.C. executive committee. Over the years, a number of proposals have been made for the democratic reform and change of the International Olympic Movement, usually unheeded by the I.O.C. In 1984, the chairman of the committee for the Non-Aligned nations, Cuba's Fidel Castro presented a proposal, that the United Nations should intervene in the Olympic Movement and should democratically elect a committee, which will run counter with the I.O.C. and thus claiming control over the Olympic Movement's affairs.

The focal point of the present thesis is to critically and dialectically examine Castro's "United Nations" Proposal within a historical materialist analysis of the democratization of the International Olympic Movement.

Representation in the political and competitive life of the Olympic Movement is determined by the Movement's ideology and structure as set down in the International Olympic Charter. As the socialist and developing worlds contend, and as the analysis to follow suggests, the Olympic Charter and consequent representation on the decision-making I.O.C. executive committee has demostrated the neo-feudal and more recently bourgeois-capitalist historical roots of the Olympic Charter. The pro western capitalist bias in the power structure of the I.O.C. may be seen, from the historical materialist perspective, as essentially another manifestation of the international class struggle.

This study, utilizing the Marxist dialectical-historical and materialist method, examines these and other contradictions within the Olympic Movement in order to better understand their past, present and future consequences for the successful adaptation or negation of Olympism to meet the needs of a changing world order. Castro's "United Nations'" Proposal,and its critical comparison with other proposals put forward before his, are utilized to compare the potential merits of a nationally-elected really international, U.N.-UNESCO based "Olympics" with the extra-governmental, self-appointed Olympic Movement as we know it today.But before we introduce the statement of the problem section of the thesis we would like to present an overview of the basic principles, propositions and assumptions of F. Castro's "United Nations'" proposal.

B. The "United Nations" Proposal

Fidel Castro asserts that the whole of the Non-Aligned world supports his proposal. In his analysis of the contemporary Olympic Movement's origins, he postulates, that it was created at the time of colonialism and that many of its methods are rooted in old ideas, dating back to the Victorian sport and athletics. Colonialism, for him, damages the third world countries' physical education and sport programs, since all previous Olympic Games were hosted in developed countries. This is why, he favors the United Nations having an agency like UNESCO, UNISEF, WHO or U.N.D.P. that will advance, promote and support the democratization of the Olympic Movement. He stated that the United Nations should handle the Olympics thus reorganizing the whole of the Olympic Movement. He also suggests that the I.O.C. can go on existing but under

United Nations' quidance. According to Castro, the concept of Olympism has to be reformed to accomodate the concept of the popularization of sport among the disadvantaged nations of the third world.

The Olympic games is in a crisis, which is not situational but institutional / structural. To alleviate the consequences of the crisis the I.O.C. should be transformed from a self-serving, oligarchic, autarkic institution to a universal democratic body, where all nations of the world will have equal rights to representation. Concerning power and control in the I.O.C., he postulates that it is being manipulated by western-capitalist interests and the politics of the capitalist class. He predicts thata big crisis is coming to affect the celebration of the Seoul Games, since the I.O.C. overlooks the fact that South Korea does not have diplomatic relations with thirty six nations in the world.

Castro's proposal for the democratization of the I.O.C. through a "United Nations'" intervention should be carefully analysed and compared accordingly in the context of the Non-Aligned nations activities, as concerning the democratization of the international sport system. Also the consideration of other critics of the I.O.C.'s policies should be examined in order to understand their connection to Castro's proposal. However, the claim for a new international sport order will not be subject of discussion of the present thesis, since it would be beyond the scope of the thesis. Such a critique must be undertaken at a later time, when a probable comprehensive system of knowledge about Olympism and the Olympic Movement has been developed by the literature pertinent to it.

This section sought to supply a short overview about the "United Nations'"/Castro's Proposal. The next section aims to introduce the reader to the statement of our main problem under investigation and the relevant consequent sub-problems, whose consideration, as a whole, might provide an interpretation of the movement to democratize the Olympic Movement and the I.O.C. in particular.

C. The Statement of the Problem

The central purpose of this study is to critically and dialectically compare and contrast the ideological and structural principles of the "United Nations", Olympic Proposal with those of the United Nations and of the I.O.C., in order to examine the possible implications that the "United Nations'" Proposal might have for the democratization of the International Olympic Movement's structure.

Sub-problems to be examined are:

a) To describe and dialectically analyse the role that the newly emerging forces played in the process of the democratization of the modern Olympic Movement, 1952-1985;

b) To describe and critically analyse the ideological and structural principles of the International Olympic Committee and their reflection in its current practices;

c) To describe and critically analyse the ideological and structural principles of the United Nations and their reflection in its current practices vis-a-vis the United Nations' Proposal;

d) To describe and critically analyse the ideological and structural principles of the "United Nations'" Proposal as related to the Non-Aligned Movement's international athletic goals;

e) To critically compare and contrast the ideological and structural principles of the "United Nations" Proposal with those of the U.N.'s and I.O.C's, in order to reveal its basic differences and similarities;

f) To derive possible implications of the 1984 United Nation's Proposal for the democratization of the Olympic Movement's structure.[1] Also, a number of specific *research questions* will be pursued:

1. What if any criteria exist for the selection of the I.O.C's membership?
2. Is there a contradiction between the number of the nations participating in the

---

[1] Note that the above sub-problems will be dealt with sequentially, as the section on the organization of the study suggests.

Olympic Movement and their representation in the I.O.C.?

3. Is there a correlation between the level of national success in the Olympic Games competion and their representation in the I.O.C.?
4. Is there a capitalist domination within the I.O.C. and how this is related to the Olympic Movement's ideology concerning equality and democracy?
5. How, if at all, are the socialists' and developing nations' representation within the Olympic Movement related to the democratization of the Olympic Movement both structurally and ideologically?

D. Need for the study.

The modern Olympic Movement strives for high humanitarian values and seeks to meet universal needs for excelence through sport. Within this popular Movement a number of conflicts and contradictions arise which make realization of its goals impossible. The U.N. Proposal could conceivably contribute to this realization and should be examined in the context of the overall problem of the democratization of the Olympic Movement. It was also deemed important to consider the "United Nations'" Proposal as a developed element of the Non-Aligned countries sport policy.
The anticipated specific contributions of the study were hoped to be:

Theoretical contributions

To provide a needed application of Marxist theory and method (i.e.,dialectical materialism), to the examination of the ideological and structural bases of the Olympic Games system to better understand its evolution, especially concerning international representation in the International Olympic Committee and the Movement itself.

To evolve a set of criteria for judging the quantity and quality of national representation in the I.O.C. and in the Movement itself.

To identify the main contradiction in the Olympic Movement today.

To identify the main ideological and structural differences and similarities of the United Nations' Proposal, as compared to the U.N., and I.O.C. ideologies and structures.

The author was able to obtain ready access to Cuban and Soviet sport authorities and research literature. It was felt that disseminating this research in the West was also a potential contribution.

Practical/Professional contributions

The study will allow a systematic questioning of the way in which the administration of the Olympic Movement promotes international representation in practice. It will provide a needed critique of the "United Nations'" Proposal, which has been systematically overlooked by the Western media, in spite of its potential for the democratization of the International Olympic Movement. This thesis will provide an opportunity to pursue personal areas of interest arising from previous involvement with the Olympic Movement and its peacefull mission.

E. Methods and Procedures.

> As the given formation develops and its contradictions accentuate, the parties interested in its destruction create new ideas, institutions and organizations. (Dictionary of Philosophy 1984:39)

The above quote concisely and appropriately describes the historical and logical elements of dialectical materialism, the theoreretical perspective and the method /o be applied to the present study of the problem of international participation or represention in the political structure of the Olympic movement. In the chapter that follows an overview of the central theoretical constructs and methodological principles of dialectical and historical materialism is given. Following this presentation of the study's theoretical perspective, its principles are applied to the concrete historical realities of the I.O.C.

The purpose of historical study is to reveal the "concrete conditions and form of the development of phenomena, their sequence and transition from certain historically necessary stages to others". (Ibid: 174) On the other hand the purpose of the conceptual study "is to reveal the logical interrelationships of the role, which separate elements of the system play in the developed whole" of each stage. (Ibid: 174) Thus, as the organization of the study indicates, the problem of international representation of the socialist countries on the I.O.C. and in the Olympic Movement will be viewed as one having its basis in the period before their emergence, in 1952. The historical study of the above period assumes that, the problem of the participation of "working class nations" existed before 1952 but in a sublimated form. The reasons lie mainly in the "bourgeois" ideology of the I.O.C. since its inception.

The given formation of the I.O.C. is antithetical to the socialist ideology. This was obvious before 1952 when two Olympic Movements existed; the Workers' Olympics (Riordan 1986) and the I.O.C's Olympics. After 1952 there developed a unity between the socialist states and the bourgeois states, a unity of opposites, a period of peaceful coexistence in sports. It is evident from a review of the relevant literature that the socialist and thirld world countries never lost their desire to reorganize and change the Olympic Movement according to their own ideological principles, particularly those concerning democracy and equality of opporunities.[3]

In that light, the "United Nations'" Proposal plays a very important role in the creation of new ideas for a possible new formation or institution for these Games under the auspices of the United Nations.

The necessary data was gathered from primary and secondary sources. Aproximatelly 200 items ranging from books and journals to Minutes of the Olympic

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[3] See Dictionary of Scientific Communism for a comprehensive description of the socialist concepts of democracy and equality as distinct from those of the bourgeoisie. (1984:60,85)

Congresses were gathered.

Primary sources include: The proceedings of the Non-Aligned countries conferences concerning sport, F.Castro's proposal, which was obtained directly from the offices of I.N.T.E.R. in Cuba after consultation with Tom Morris the athletic advisor of Canadian Tribune, the memorandum signed by Unesco and I.O.C., the proceedings of the Olympic Congresses in Varna and Baden-Baden, the I.C.P.E.S. committee's proceedings, the personal corespondance with the I.O.C., I.N.T.E.R. and the Office of the Minister for Sports in Ottawa, Canada. Also very important documents were the I.O.C. biographies of its membership. United Nations Minutes and Resolutions were also examined. Correspondance was maintained between the author and the I.O.C. as well as I.N.T.E.R. (the Cuban bureau in charge of Physical Education and Sports). The data related to the I.O.C.'s politico-economical and national structure of its membership, from the 1979, 1982, 1985 biographies of its members was also analysed. Its members were categorized into three different politico-economical and social systems of capitalism, socialism and developing nations. The recent appearance of the developing nations in the Olympic Movement was mainly a consequence of several forms of waning colonialism. The date concerning the success of the countries participating in the Games was analysed in fashion similar to that used by Riordan (1979) and Popov (1984). The data was produced to show the ratio between the changes on the number of, on the one hand, the N.O.Cs and on the other, the I.O.C. members, during the short history of the Olympic Games, was derived primarily from Solakov (1976). Data was also collected through formal and informal discussions with MacAloon, at 11th NASSS meeting in Las Vegas, NV., U.S.A.and Wagner (1986) over Cuban Sport and his work as related to it.

F. Theoretical Framework: Dialectical and Historical Materialism as a General Theory for the Olympic Movement.

Dialectics: Laws, Aims and Principles.

The following section aims to provide the basic theoritico-logical skeleton of the thesis. It outlines the most fundamental laws, aims and principles of dialectical and historical materialism, in an effort to clarify our theoretical assumptions as distinct from any other "marxist" or "neo-Marxist" interpretation of dialectical and historical materialism.

Like all other social phenomena, sport develops under the specific laws of dialectics. Dialectics is a philosophical outlook on the material world, which it considers to be in continous motion, development and renovation. All development, in dialectics, is a result of the struggle between the internal contradictions inherent in every object or phenomenon, modified by external influences. One of the basic *premises* of dialectics is that the "world consists not of finite objects," but rather "represents an aggregate of processes, in which objects while appearing unchanging are in a process of continous change of coming into existence and undergoing disintegration." (Fedoseyev 1984: 10)

Many different definitions for dialectics exist. Surveying the definitional efforts of authors, it is interesting to list some of their views in order to understand the similarities and essential differencies of their definitions.

According to Fedoseyev (ibid: 15) "dialectics is the science" which holds for the "emergence, developmentn and death of any social organism and its replacement with another higher organism". Engels (1982:211) defines dialectics to clarify the difference between objective and subjective or mechanistic dialectics.

Objective dialectics is the reflection of motion through opposites, which asserts itself everywhere in nature and, through which by the continual conflict of the opposites and their final passage into another higher form, determines the life of nature. Engels in this definition rules out subjectivism in the sense that society is a higher product of matter in motion, thus ascertaining the material bases of dialectics.

He also explains, in an alternative definition, that "dialectics is a science which aims at discovering the general laws of motion and development of nature, human society and human thought (Engels 1977:172) Matter, therefore, consists of three basic aspects: a)nature, b)human society and c)human thought or psych.

Speaking of matter and material forces in dialectics, Engels aimed to develop materialism and materialist dialecticts as opposed to idealism, which was pre-eminent in his time. Matter, therefore, for Engels, is a philosophical category denoting the objective reality, which is given to men and women by their sensations and which is copied, photographed and reflected by our sensations while existing independently of them.

Contrary to materialism, Berkeley, who was an idealist philosopher, preserved that human sensations and their objects are one and the same thing. Automatically, this statement leads to the negation of the objective world existing outside and independent of human consciousness. On the contrary, for materialist dialectics, the world of ideas, the forms of social consciousness, are secondary and reflect the world of material values. (Momjan 1980:36) [3]

Ideas and theories are aspects of social life. In materialist dialectics ideas and theories can become a mighty force of social development and change under the condition that they express material social requirements, and the interests of progressive classes, especially the interests of the masses of people. In this way, theory and ideas become a usefull popular tool, a material force, as in the case of the Olympic Games' Movement and Olympism.

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[3] Here material values mean the conscideration of the development of material production, which plays a definite role in the production and reproduction of social life. (Oizerman 1981:300)

Therefore the specific aims and purposes of dialectics, as well as its functions as a philosophical outlook, are:

1. To approach reality from its material bases;
2. To discover the general laws of motion and development of nature, human society and human thought.
3. To suggest that all objects in our material world are in a process of continous change, of coming into being and disintegrating.
4. To study new forms of the struggle of opposites that exist in world's development and the new types of contradictions.
5. To orient the researcher to look for internal uniformities in the development of the specific phenomena under consideration and the "necessary stages of its maturity", and discovering their causes. (Momjan 1980: 131)
6. To bring out the fundamental similarities and disimilarities between the objects being studied in a comparative fashion. (ibid: 131)
7. To develop an effective and reliable method in the social sciences for discovering objective processes.
8. To provide a philosophical base for the "revolutionary renewal of the world".(Fedoseyev 1984: 10) To scientificaly search for the sources of development and change; and whether they are of popular interest or whether they serve the ideological view of a minority of people.

If dialectics claims to be a science then it should contain a method of scientific cognition. The dialectical method of scientific cognition claims that matter is primary and therefore there should be objective laws regulating the motion of the matter into the historical being. However, before we describe the three dialectical laws we should elaborate more on the external characteristics of the method in general.

The first characteristic is that the dialectical method is a historical method. To realize the essence of the phenomena we should study the object not only in how it appears at a given moment within a given relationship, but we should also study how it will behave among other fields of relationships; that is, how the phenomenon arose and what are the basic stages of its development.

On the other hand, dialectics subscribes to the principle of the unity of the logico-theoretical and historical approach. (ibid:24) This principle help us to understand the dilemma of the antithesis between historicism and philosophical science. The scientist using dialectics should not only be aware of all the historical facts affecting his subject matter, but also high level of philosophical sophistication is needed, in order to enable him to reveal the essence of the things; that means going beyond the mere reflection of the facts and their simple description. (ibid:23)

Nevertheless, dialectics have their own laws of coming to know the world. By laws dialectics mean "a generalized expression of phenomena, which is not a logical deduction but an objective reality." (ibid:38) [4]Fedoseyev describes laws as a "passive reflection of phenomena, the reflection of a system in a static condition." (ibid:10) He also adds that the dialectical laws are historical laws, because they reflect the restless element of continous change, which leads to the revolutionary change of the system.

The first law of dialectics is the law of the interdependance of the quantitative and qualitative aspects of an object, meaning the transformation of its quantitative or qualitative aspects according to objective, mostly unavoidable causes. Object in this case can be either a natural or a social category, including the products of the mind. In this process, at first, imperceptibly, quantitative changes accumulate gradually and eventually upset the measure of that object and spark fundamental qualitative changes, which take place in the forms of leaps and whose occurance depends on the nature of the objects in question and their condition of development in its diverse forms. The law of the transformation of quantitative aspects to qualitative ones shows the way in which development occurs, in other words the shows the mechanism of this process. It expresses the interconnection of such opposites and the same time complimentary quantitative and qualitative aspects of the object.

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[4] For a definition of the concept Law you should refer to the definitions section within the same chapter.

The concept quality can be described as of coscisting of the totality of the essential features, expressing the nature and specifics of a thing; quality is the essence of its properties. For example, we can not imagine the Olympic Games without athletics, as in the same manner an organism will die with the cessation of its metabolism. On the other hand, quantity is the key factor which characterizes the magnitude, pace and degree of the development of the given quality of, (i.e.), the Olympic Games.

The second dialectical law is the law of the unity and the struggle of opposites. According to this law all things, phenomena and processes possess internal contradictions, opposing aspects and tendencies, which are in a state of interconnection and mutual negation. The struggle of opposites gives on the one hand an internal impulse to development, but on the other hand leads to the building up of contradictions too; which leads to, at a certain stage, in the disappearance of the old, (i.e., structure) and the appearance of a new. This law applies extensively to the Olympic Movement's aspects, which will be analysed in the second chapter of the present thesis.

The third dialectical law is the law of the negation of negation. It is the one which operation "conditions the link and continuity between that which is negated and that which negates." (Kostandinov 1974: 173) Dialectical negation does not necesserily reject all previous developments and achievements, but on the contrary, it conditions and preserves all progressive elements of the previous older stages. The law of the negation of negation shows the connection between the consequent stages of development, between the old and the new. It expresses the general tendency and direction of historical development. Progressive elements or forces are the ones that are directed at changing the object or the phenomenon.

Dialectical logic is not enough to analyse phenomena because it is mostly a theoritico-logical tool, a world outlook. But historical materialism, its compliment, focuses on "the special laws of social development as distinct from the universal laws of being." (Boguslavsky 1976:246) For historical materialism the history of society "proceeds from lower to higher forms of social organization and that the change or transformation to the higher forms is inevitable, because the old forms become outmoded" and stand as a hindrance to the further development of the new social forces.

The assumption of historical materialism is that "the production of material goods is the basis of history", (ibid:255) and that if history is based on the production of material goods, then the decisive role in history "belongs to the producers of the material goods, i.e., the working people." (ibid:256) In this sense history for Marxism is mainly determined by the activity of the masses rather than by individuals, and that which characterizes the position of the individual and its agency is the degree of his relation to the means of production, either as the owners or the employees of these means.

The next assumption, relative to the question of how and by what means men or women produce, is that society's successive historical stages have their own basic models of production and that every mode of production has two aspects; on the one hand the production's forces and on the other the relations of production. Sociologically speaking, in every mode of production a given socio-economical, historical class aquires its political power through the realization of its potentialities for controlling material production. The two chief modern modes of production are the capitalist and the socialist. In the capitalist mode the basic means of material production belong to individual or small groups of people, organized as corporations, but in the socialist mode they belong to society as a whole, and the state power.

The socio-political systems of socialism and capitalism are perpetuated through national and international structures, within which, whenever they coexist, they struggle for domination. It is an estblished Marxist assumption that usually the dominant ideology is the ideology of the dominant class. However, countries, where neither capitalism nor socialism are fully developed and where sometimes there even exists the feudal mode of production, tend to align today with either the one or the other dominant ideological and politco-economical paradigms according to their national and group regional and geo-political interests and so on. A consequence of the above statement is that today one hundred of these developing countries of the world's system of nation-states have formed their own coalition of states.The coalition is called the "Group of 77", [5] which operates within the United Nations organization, or else, as they are called outside of the U.N's boundaries, the Non-Aligned Countries Treaty Organization. The Organization consists of one hundred and two nations almost the total population of the developing countries.

The above fact indicates that in reality the world can not be strictly devided into two ideological and politico-economical systems, in spite of the theoretical claims, without taking into consideration the particular interests and characteristics of each country or group of countries, based on geographical, racial and ethnico-cultural differences. This is because ideological elements, like the position of a nation on the international political map, have a certain degree of independence of the material bases of society. In certain instances they even play a very determinate role.

However historical materialism's theoretical assumptions are still valid since instances of international sport relations and their institutions, as part of general international relations, are strongly connected with big financial and political concerns as the most recent Los Angeles Olympics' extravaganca shown.Mass media and advertisement businesses have penetrated so deep in the Olympic Games' Movement that the dependency of the I.O.C. and the organizers of the Games on the big media and advertisement corporations is already absolute. Therefore, with our last argument above we concluded our reference to the fundamental general laws, aims, principles and assumptions of dialectical and historical materialism, in an effort to make clear to the reader of the present thesis the "type" of Marxism that we use. Our Marxism is based on the classical works of Marx, Engels and Lenin as well as the newer research on Marxism and historical and dialectical materialism, which is undertaken by scholars in the already established socialist countries. The above theoretical framework penetrates and orients the author's way of thinking throughout all the present study. The most important aspect that perhaps should be pointed out here is the fact that the class struggle has penetrated into the international relations of nations[6] and has affected them in a very decisive way. The ideological class struggle (we refer mainly to the second law of dialectics) of the two major socio-political and ecconomical world systems has been a tautological example in our case of the Olympic Games Movement.

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[5] Definition to be found in the definitions section of the present chapter.

G. Delimitations.

While there are many social categories underrepresented in the political process of the Olympic Movement, like race, gender, regions, languages and so on, the present study has elected to examine only the process of nation-class underrepresentation in the I.O.C. These other groups deserve similar detailed study. Nevertheless, this thesis took national representation and its contradictions as the primary focus of the study.

Within the dialectical and historical materialist theory and method utilized, the nation-class is perceived as two closely interacting variables, the nation and its class structure. With the 1952 acceptance of the first socialist nations in the International Olympic Movement two contradictory class-structured nation-state elements merged, from the earlier "Workers Olympics" and the "bourgeois" Olympics, the socialist and capitalist nations.

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[6] Definition to be found in the definitions' section of the present chapter.

A second central delimitation of the study relates its scope vis-a-vis the study of the process of democratization of the I.O.C. While the study reviews generally the changes in national representation on the I.O.C. post 1952 (the entry of Marxist states intothe I.O.C.), the focal point of this thesis was the examination of the Castro's "United Nations'" Proposal for Olympic change. While a number of other proposals have been made to the I.O.C. or the international world of sport since 1952, this study concentrated on the Castro proposal. Since this proposal represents the views of the Non-Aligned nations it was felt to be the significant contemporary proposal. The fact that the proposal would see the I.O.C. become a part of the United Nations-UNESCO causes it to be considered as a serious proposition which automatically raises the need for a comparative approach to the ideological and structural principles of the two organizations.

H. Limitations.

The study may have been limited by several factors. Firstly since the Castro proposal has been probably viewed by the I.O.C. as unacceptable it has received little or no attention by the Committee. Any I.O.C. minutes or official publications pertaining to the proposal were unavailiable to the writer.

Secondly, although the the researcher reeds Greek, Russian, and English some sources in other languages were unavailable to him. Nevertheless, these potential limitations were not seen to be significant in reducing the study's value. The author's unique access to Cuban and Soviet sources were seen to more than offset these limitations. Secondary data, in books or newspapers, journals was accepted as being valid, since it could not be tested.

The last limitation lies in the methodological part of this study. It would be much better if data could be obtained from primary sources such as the I.O.C's Study Center and Library in Geneva, or the library of the International Olympic Academy in Olympia, Greece. Unfortunately, some minutes of the I.O.C. will not be available. Moreover empirical verification of the findings would be appropriate but there are time and financial restrictions for the such a purpose.

I. Definitions.

Definitions are listed in an orderly manner so that their presentation coincides with their position in the actual text of the thesis. Of course the first definition we need is for the concept 'democratization' and what we mean with it.

Democratization:The opening of the Olympic Movement to allow direct international representation of all races, both sexes, colors, and N.O.Cs representatives in the executive body of the international Olympic Movement according to the principles of the sovereignty of nations.

Ideology: is a system of political, legal, ethical, aesthetical, religious and philosophical views and ideas, scientific or unscientific, true or false, reflecting or not reflecting reality.

Structure: is the inner organization of a system constituting a unity of stable interelations among its elements, as well as laws governing these interelations.

Practice: is the overal activities of the organization.

Dialectics: is the science of the general laws of motion and development of nature, human society and human thought." (Engels,1977,p.172)

Also according to Fedoseyev,(1984,p.15) "Dialectics is the science which regulates the emergence, existence, development and death of any social organism and its replacement with another, higher organism."

Historical Materialism:"...studies the general sociological laws of historical development and the forms of their application in the activity of people, and demostrates that the socio-historical process is determined by material factors" according to the stage in the development of the productive forces. (Dictionary of

Philosophy 1984:257)

Dialectical Materialism: is the science which studies "new forms of the struggle of opposites in world development and new types of contradictions." (Fedoseyev 1984:10)

Law: "is a passive reflection of phenomena or otherwise the reflection of a system in a static condition." Fedoseyev,(1984,p.10-11)

Classes: "Classes are large group of people differing from each other by the place they occupy in the historically determined system of social production, by their relation to the means of production, by their role in the social organization of labor, and, consequently, by the dimentions of the share of social welth of which they dispose and the mode of acquiring it. Classes are groups of people one of which can appropriate the labor of the another owing to the different places they occupy in a definite system of social economy." (Lenin 1960-:421)

Class struggle: The struggle between classes whose interests are incompatible or contradictory. (Dictionary of philosophy 1984:67)

Nation: A historically formed community of people which succeeds nationality. The nationality is distiquished first of all by common material conditions of life: common territory and economic life; common language and certain traits of national character, manifested in the national peculiarity of its culture. (Dictionary of Philosophy 1984:283)

Development: is a distinct form of evolution, including the notion of a great leap or revolutionary change.

Olympic Movement: is a social movement which found its origins in different parts of Europe, and which reviver and main organizer was Pierre de Coubertin. The Olympic Movement today includes the International Olympic Committee, the National Olympic Committees of the world (164 in total) and the International Sport Federations. All activities that are directed by the above interdependent organizations consist the Olympic Movement.

World socialist system (W.S.S.)(socialist countries): It is the system which has been formed by sovereign socialist states. It relies on a common type of economic foundation-public ownership of the means of production, a common type of state system, the power of the people led by the working class, and a common ideology-Marxism. The World's socialist system is a new type of international alliance, which is made up by the socialist states, as allied by the community of their system and their commitment to the cause of peace, socialism,democracy and national independance. (Dictionary of Scientific Communism 1984:283)

World Capitalist System:(W.C.S) (Capitalist countries) it is the sum-total of countries with a capitalist social system, which are linked to one another by economic, political and other types of relations. Their community is based on the domination of similar capitalist production relations, though the level of their development differs from country to country. (Ibid: 1984:279)

Developing countries: (Thirld World)it is a group of Asian, African and Latin American states, including former colonies, semi-colonies and formally independent states that have fallen behind in their development, owing to imperialist oppretion by developed capitalist countries.(Ibid 1984:70)

Ideological Struggle: is a form of the *class struggle* between the working class and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism. (Ibid 1984:110)

Principle of equal participation: it is a principle pertaining to the organizational and administrative set-up of the U.N. and its agencies, according to which representatives of the developing States should participate in the organs of U.N. on an equal footing with the representatives of the developed capitalist and socialist states.

Group of 77: is a group of developing countries which was formed in the U.N. during preparation for the first Session of the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), 1963-1964, and was so called due to the original number of states that joined the group.

International Law: is the sum total of legal rules and principles regulating specific relations among subjects of international law in a particular area of interrelationship, and establishing the legal status of a certain area. (Dictionary of International Law 1986:115)

Principle of the Sovereign Equality of States: means that all States are legally equal and enjoy similar rights and duties as members of the international community, regardless of their economic, social and political systems.

Colonilization:is a very broad concept which means the act of establishing colonial rule in political-economical and social terms.

J. A Critical Review of Literature on I.O.C. Democratization andChange.

This critical review of literature aims to expose the foundamental theoretical and empirical arguments and facts, which, in sum, provide a comprehensive outlook of the Olympic Movement's problems of development and change. In order to set the basic parameters for the comparative analysis of this thesis, '[1] one must first understand the goals of the Olympic Movement. As outlined in the Olympic Charter, (1983:2) the goals are:

> to educate young people through sport in a spirit of better understanding between each other and of friendship, thereby helping to build a better and more peacefull world. To create international goodwill and to bring together the athletes of the world in the great four-yearly sport festival, the Olympic Games.

Solokov (1974:15) argued that in order for the Olympic Movement to achieve its goals *change* must take place equally at all its aspects. This change should include alterations to the ideological, structural, and organizational bases of the Movement, so that its goals may be achieved; that is, the development of equality of opportunity to participate in all levels of the Olympic Movement. For the purposes of the thesis participation is considered not on an individual basis, but on the nation-class level.[2]

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[1] that between, on the one hand, the ideological and structural differencies and similarities of the U.N's Proposal and the I.O.C., and on the other, the one between the ideological and structural principles of the U.N.-UNESCO and the U.N.'s Proposal.

[2] Nation-class here means the category of nation and the dominant mode of production prevailing.

Killanin, the former president of the I.O.C., as quoted by Bazunov, argues that changes are necessery in the Olympic Movement if the development of mass participation is to be achieved (Bazunov 1973:11). Killanin also indicated that mass participation should be in unity with excellence, "quality" and elite achivements (Ibid, p.11).However, Killanin does not define the term 'mass participation' and we do not know whether he means participation in terms of N.O.Cs representation in the I.O.C., by the N.O.Cs or the individual athlete type of participation. Despite his vague statement he does introduce the argument, that *change* can embrace both the quantitative increase or decrease of the Olympic Movement's structural characteristics as well as it can influence its qualitative aspects, meaning the achievement of its goals.(Dictionary of Philosophy 1984:61)

If these two categories of "quantity", meaning the magnitude, pace and degree of development of the Olympic Movement, and "quality", meaning the essential nature of the Movement, are in 'unity', then this unity would make the Olympic Movement stronger.[9] When 'quantity' is not there then 'quality' will be low, concerning the achievement of mass participation or representation in the Olympic Movement. As we argued before, these two categories operate in both the Olympic Games and the I.O.C., the executive body of the Olympic Movement. Both, the magnitude of participating nations, races, women and the representatives of the continents and their nations in the I.O.C. and the Olympic Games, which is a quantitative aspect, as well as 'quality' expressed in the way that the Games and its administration may achieve their goals, consist the basis of the original concept of 'unity', which makes the Olympic Movement an important focus of study.

The argument above induces the following questions: Is there unity among the fundamental elements of the Olympic Movement?[10] If there is not, then what are the causes? If there is unity, then what are the external, to this unified whole, conditions and how they affect the Movement?[11] Is the volume of participating nations, races, sexes, professions, cultures, ideologies within the Movement increasing or decreasing or it is stable? What about the quality of the Games, meaning the achievements of its mission statements. Therefore, the task presented to the author is to identify the one which is the most important question, the primary one, among the many that were presented above. The theoretical framework of the thesis, dialectical and historical materialism, will provide the basic guideline for the isolation of the most primary question.[11]

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[9] Discussion on the concept of 'unity' and how it operates in the Olympic Movement will be given in Chapter II.

[10] Meaning the categories of race, sex, nations, languages, colors, continents, etc.

[11] Meaning the international ideological and politico-economical class struggle.

When we use dialectical and historical materialism to study the coming into being, the development and change of the Olympic Movement (over its short modern history when compared to the history of the ancient Games) and when we are considering the contradiction existing and evolving within it, we feel confident to state that: the major problem in the Olympic Movement today is a result of the antithesis existing between the "socialist" and "capitalist" ideologies in the Olympic movement.

Here, it would be appropriate to quote Marx:

> "the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of the class struggle."(Glezerman 1979:7)

Though, nowadays, the class struggle has taken international dimentions, precisely because of the establishment of "socialist" states around the globe.

However, the international class struggle did not start to take place in the Olympic Movement. before the emergence of the "socialist" nations in it. As Riordan (1984:101) indicated, in the beging of the 20th century the "socialist" nations, meaning the newly emerged "socialist" Republics of the U.S.S.R., as well as the "socialist" and "communist" parties in Europe, were compelled to organize their own Olympic Games; the Workers Olympics. This was a consequence of the elitist, bourgeois ideology and practice of the I.O.C., and in particular its founder Pierre de Coubertin. Such restrictive practices can be found in the literature, where it is mentioned that the I.O.C. had excluded worker's athletic clubs, from the Olympic Games, as was the case with the application of the Thames Rowers Union. (Brohm 1976, MacAlloon 1984)

Apparently, in the first and the beging of the third quarter of the 20th century, up to 1936, the antithesis was strong and there was no unity of those opposite struggling world ideologies in the Olympic Movement, since we had the organization of two different Olympic festivals, on the one hand the I.O.C's Games and on the other the

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[11] The theoretical framework of the thesis is introduced in its entirety in the second chapter.

Workers' Games. However, developments during and after the Second World War changed the content and form of the Olympic Movement decisively. Kozmina (1984:18) argued that the war against fascism was the historical moment of the relative unity or cooperation between the "socialist" and "capitalist" world, a unity reflected by the establishment of the United Nations. Despite the years of the 'Cold War' following the Second World War, the roots of the development of cooperation and unity were already set out. The International Olympic Movement, in a slower pace, reflected this unity by accepting the "socialist" nations and their representatives into it. (Leiper 1980:52).

Over the period of 1952 to 1972, while Brundage was president of the I.O.C., the process of greater participation of "socialist" nations and newly liberated third world countries into the Olympic family had sufficiently contributed to the democratization of the Movement, in light of capitalist pluralistic and egalitarian terms.[13] Precisely because of the opening of the Movement to opposing ideologies, conflicts and instances of complete disassociation were the direct result, bringing the Movement to an explosive situation. The results of the ideological class struggle, which automatically was transferred to the Olympic Movement, were reflected in the Games, as far as it concerns the problems of two Chinas, two Germanys and two Koreas (Epsy 1981:195).

However, despite of the existeance of the the class struggle within the Games between the opposite politico-economical world systems, the Games flourished, in a state of relative unity. The popularity of the Games increased when considering its dimentions. An example of that is the almost three thousands journalists and two thousands administrative personel enganged with dispatching information and other services related to the Olympic Games. Both quantitative changes are evident, that is bigger participation and representation of nations, races, languages, both genders as well as the development of numerous techniques and tactics of sport and its administration, and qualitative changes, serving in a more justifiable way the initial goals of the Olympic Movement.

But this climate was not to last. In the Montreal, Moscow and Los Angeles Games the Movement fell into contradiction (or antithesis), that between, on the one hand, the "newly emerged nations'" ideologies and practices and on the other the I.O.C's ones, which led to a climate of complete disassociation and mistrust and resulted in boycotts and pull outs. These conflicts and their consequences indicated that unless serious changes were undertaken in the Olympic Movement it might for a second time disappear, as had happened with the ancient Olympic Games. Have, therefore, the Games reached that stage of distraction? If they did reach it, what is their future? If they did not how would they survive through so many contradictions and conflicts? Wil we have Olympic Games organized by a 'socialist block of nations' and others organized by the 'capitalist block of nations'? What about the humanitarian goals of the Olympic Movement, like the concept of peace, which is assumed to stand beyond ideologies and personal interest?

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[13] The concept of equality can take two or more different meanings depending upon the dominant mode of production relations in a society.

At this point, of the development of the arguments, and because of our theoretical and methodological framework of dialectical and historical materialism, a possible resolution to the antithesis should be conscidered (i.e., a new synthesis or a higher qualitative form). In light of the need for resolution many scientists, laymen, political figures, and Olympians have put forward proposals on reforming and changing the Olympic Movement in order to update it, to accomodate conflicts and thus hopefully bring unity back into the Olympic Movement.

One of these proposals was put forward by a politician and former athlete, the president of Cuba, Fidel Castro, who untill very recently was the President of the Organization of the Non-Aligned countries. His proposal is very essential according to the theoretical and methodological premises of this thesis, as it precisely deals with the main question put forward here, which is the 'democratization' of the I.O.C. and the Olympic Movement in general. (Granma 1985:3)

Why, then, is the problem of the democratization of the I.O.C. and the Olympic Movement the most important one? How does existing literature address the problem?

Pierre de Coubertin, the founder of the modern Olympic Movement, spoke for democracy in sports, the"democracy of ability"; but the democracy he refered to was essentially limited to a highly selective group of amateur sportsmen. In this context achievement was weighted with aristocratic conceptions of character development and sportmanship.(Koskinas 1981:10) Simillarly, the ideological principles reflected in the rules and regulations of the I.O.C. excluded women and professionals (workers, laborers), from both the administrative aspects and the Games.

Consequently, Oduyale (1982:738) argues that the ideology, which Pierre de Coubertin promoted, needs reformation since "it is very outdated." It was "formulated during the Victorian era of sport and athletics", which no longer reflects the developments in the modern world. Epsy (1981:38) has also argued that still *"the I.O.C. operates with nineteenth-century's attitudes and thoughts, through nineteenth-century institutions and establishments"*, he concludes that the "I.O.C. is not in step with the times", as it refuses to acknowledge that the world has changed since 1894 and that sport like any other social institution reflects the ideological, political class struggle (Ibid:37).

Castro and Koppell refer to the 'colonialisation' and 'decolonisation' process and how it influenced the ideology and structure of the I.O.C. and the Movement in general. Castro (1984:3) argues that the modern Olympic Movement *"was created in the time of colonialism and its structure and ideology is attributed to the dominant ideology of capitalist expansion"*. Heitanen adds that "the issue of sport order today has its roots in the decolonisation process of the 1950's and 1960's, but at the level of principles it dates back to the begining of the Olympic Movement". For Heitanen (1984:64) ideology and structure are not developing parallelly; as a matter of fact, he states that the structure of the Olympic Movement is outdated.

Likewise, Koppell argues that the biggest problem in the Olympic Movement lies in its administration. The problem

> stems from the nature of the I.O.C., a self perpetuating body that insists that it has no obligations to any goverment or any other group of people. It has a stranglehold on the World's National Olympic Committees and International Sport Federations, because of its power to bar anyone from the Olympics. I.O.C. is a singularly undemocratic, archaic and secret body, unsuited in theory and in practice with the world of 1980. (Kopell 1981:275)

Castro (1984:4) also believed that "the Olympic Movement's most serious problems are institutional and not situational, and that must be repealed." He continued, that "some tiny European countries have few athletes but have two representatives into the I.O.C.", whereas other countries that are "important in terms of sporting achievements" and sport's popularity have one or none. He postulated that the "organization is sick" as it is a "self serving, oligarchic, autarchic institution that names its representatives from the countries of the World"(Ibid:4).

Zachariev,(1984:163) the president of the UNESCO's division for Physical Education and Sport, noted that the *"urgent plea of many countries, particularly from the third world, for greater democratisation of International Sport and more equitable representation of the different nations"*, as well as the problem concerning "the principles of equality between peoples and nations", which pertains to the problem of "dignity and justice, which must be resolved as quickly as possible." He further adds that "it is a challenge and an undeniable obstacle to the development of international relations based on understanding between people and nations." Zachariev concludes that there is a need to "democratise international decision-making and contact, if we are concerned with the development of mass sport participation in the respective countries taking part in the Olympic Movement."(Ibid,p.165)

Heitanen takes it further, suggesting that we need to define and clearly "delineate the objectives and plans for a new international sport order (N.I.S.O.)" based on pluralistic principles.

Similarly, Koskinas (1979:25) argued, on a moral basis, on the issue of "inequality of opportunity", which not only appear in the competitive forms or expressions of physical activity, but also exists in the "hierarchical, structural level of the Olympic Games. The functions of differentiation and inequality are important components of concern when we speak for a pure democratic, thus pluralistic society."(Ibid:28)

Talberg (1984:1288) also argued that there is an active struggle against the democratisation of the Olympic Movement and that its agents

> apprehend the further democratisation of the I.O.C. by increasing international participation in the executive body of the Olympic Games, the I.O.C. Instead they pose the problem of the autonomy of the I.O.C.

and they argue that "more internationalization will decrease the levels of efficiency" of the Olympic "parliament", the I.O.C. However, their real interest might be the preservation of the 'status-quo' with its undemocratic make-up and its dictatorial rule through the term 'autonomy'. This policy, however, may increase administrative corruption and authoritative rule, thus decreasing the opportunity for international control by the nations involved in the modern Olympic Movement.

In fact the I.O.C. does not include in its ranks representatives from all National Olympic Committees, which are already registered members with the Movement. The Association of N.O.Cs has 161 members but in the I.O.C's membership, only seventy-four countries are represented. Of the ninety-two members total of the I.O.C., only sixteen are from Africa,twenty from Australia and Asia, nineteen from North and South America, against thirty-six from Europe. Of the thirty-six members representing Europe, some are citizens of the same country and the same applies to the representatives of Oceania, America and Asia[14].(Athletismos 1985:17) Empirical analysis concerning the distribution of power and control in the I.O.C. shows that 87 percent of the members of the I.O.C. are citizens of "capitalist" nations while only 17 percent are representatives of "socialist" nations.(Koskinas 1981:38) This distribution contradicts the level of success of the nations in the Olympic Movement as almost 60 percent of the medals in the 1976 Games were collected by the "socialist" nations, whereas only forty percent went to the "capitalist" ones.[15]

Studies have shown that monopoly-capitalism or "imperialism controls sport organisations" (Brohm 1976:110; Koskinas 1982:39) Furthermore, Epsy (1981:89), discussing the position of Edstrom, the Swedish president of the I.O.C., concerning the emergence of the "socialist" nations into the modern Olympic Movement, stated that *"the I.O.C., since Edstrom, has always exhibited its apprehension to the participation of representatives from socialist countries."*

Thus it is not strange why the "new emerging forces" in the Olympic Movement complain about the one sighted ideology and administrative practice of the I.O.C. and why Brohm(1976,p.108) is quite convinced that "the bourgeisie, through monopolies, controls international sporting contact and the Olympic Games."

Oduyale, (1982:739) a Nigerian scientist and Olympic Games official argues that reform is necessary and that the I.O.C. "is not ready to subject its policy to any outside influence nor even to consider it." The I.O.C. "has developed thin skin" to defend its ideological positions and to avoid criticism. According to social research conducted by Oduyale the Nigerian athletic authorities are dissatisfied with the selection and recruitment of the I.O.C's membership characterising it as undemocratic. (Ibid:739) The author concludes that the pressure on the I.O.C. concerning change on its structure, administration and recruitment functions is great, and that naturally they spring from societal and economical changes occurring internationally within and between the countries of the world's politico-economical and social systems.

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[14] India and Japan

[15] Source: Who flouts the Olympic ideals. Moscow: Novosti Press (1980)

Moreover, Bazunov (1973:10) argues that the "I.O.C. is an undemocratic institution", because of the fact that Olympic Congresses, the parliament of the Olympic Movement, had not been held for the period of 1930-1973. Contrary to the period between 1894-1930 when Congresses had been held eight times. Bazunov concludes with the speculation that Olympic Congresses were kept closed under the dictatorical leadership of Avery Brundage, an American businessman and past president of the I.O.C., as his successor, Lord Killanin, once he was elected, he opened negotiations with Varna, Bulgaria and the local National Olympic Committee,for the organization of the first post World War Olympic Congress, in 1974.

The "United Nations" Proposal's initial statement that the biggest problem in the Olympic Movement is the democratization of its institutional structure is important for our review. The Castro proposal implies that the I.O.C. lacks a complete and acceptable justification for the existing criteria concerning the regulations for the selection of its membership. However, a further analyses of the ideological and structural elements of the proposal, and how these principles relate on the one hand to the ideology and the structure of the I.O.C. and on the other with the ideological and structural principles of the United Nations, will be a justified endeavor for a possible resolution of the main antithesis in the Modern Olympic Movement, that between the "socialist" and the "capitalist" ideology. However, we do not want to be considered as subjective idealists, in insisting that, if through structural changes, the opportunity was given to those countries to equitably participate in the organization and management of the Olympic Movement, the problem of the democratization of the Olympic Movement might be resolved. The opportunity to take part in the Olympics is not only limited by its organizational and managerial features. A mass sport movement can not flourish when people do not have the means, in every country, to regularly participate in sport. Because sport may be democratic at the top (i.e., the I.O.C.) but not at its grass roots.(individual countries) In sum, the above topical review of literature on the problem of the democratization of the institutional/structural elements of the I.O.C. is assumed to have shown that there is a consciderable amount of scientific and non-scientific work on the subject. The main arguments presented dealed with both the socio-historical and politicoeconomical dimentions of the problem. However, it is believed that a scientific examination of the democratization problem should be contacted using comparative as well as socio-historical and philosophical methods.

Despite the fact that Castro realized the need to link and compare the work of U.N. in sport with this of the I.O.C. in the Movement no comparative study between these two international organizations was conducted. However, his critique of the I.O.C. requires I.O.C., and all other scientists except of Solakov's work, is very superficially constructed, a fact which motivates the present author to proceed with the expansion of its scope. The thesis, therefore,promises to examine the above mentioned relationship, in a comparative fashion.

K. The Organization and Format of the Study.

The thesis is preseted in the following format. First comes a critical review of the pertinent literature, which focus on the problem of the development of the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the Movement and the consequent change occured to the character of the Games' Movement and its nature.

In the second chapter the main theoretical assumptions of dialectical and historical materialism is used to interprete the social organization of the modern Olympic Movement. The Movement serves as the social context within which the dialectics of the I.O.C. unravel. The representation and selection systems used by the I.O.C., as well as the problems of power and control are viewed in the third chapter as the manifestations of important internal contradictions. These internal contradictions emerged in the Olympic Movement as a result of the international class struggle. In this chapter also we describe the ideological and structural principles of the I.O.C., so that later, in the fourth chapter, we can compare them with the ideological and structural principles of the United Nations, in an effort to realize why F. Castro thinks, in his proposal, that the United Nations is a more democratic institution than the I.O.C.

At the sixth chapter we focous on the analysis of Castro's proposal and how it is situated in the context of the developing countries' need for the development of their physical education and sport programs. Here, again, the main theoretical and methodological principles of historical and dialectical materialism are utilized for both the analysis and the critique of Castro's proposal. The need for a critical approach to F. Castro's proposal it is suggested from our theoretical model of negation of negation. In our instance F. Castro's proposal is negated, as not appropriate for the time being.The call of Castro to press for the demolition of the neo-feudalist I.O.C., is very legitimate. However, we suggest that a last chance should be given to the I.O.C. to reform/negate itself if it really feels the presure from outside forces.

In our last chapter, the summary and conclussion section, we offer an estimation of the positive and negative aspects of the Castro's proposal and we counterpose our own proposal as an effort to give the final opportunity to the I.O.C. to negate itself.

II. CHAPTER TWO: Dialectics and the Olympic Movement.

A. Introduction.

According to the theoretical framework presented in the previous chapter,the laws, aims and principles of dialectical and historical materialism can be applied to the study of sport phenomena. Thus, the dialectical analysis of the Olympic Games phenomenon should study it in its transition through history, past and future, that is, "what it was and what it will be" (Polinger 1976:94). Therefore, the dialectics of the Olympic Games should expose changes in the Olympic Games movement and the transformations that have occurred, in an effort to forsee the new tendencies and trends of the future life of the Games.

In the Olympic Movement, as in all social forms, nothing is in a final stage. Everything is in motion, in a transition period, a continous process of becoming and passing away. Dialectics indicate that there is no power that can hold things in a permanent state, that there is nothing absolute. Nothing is sacred, eternal and perfect. The dialectics of the Olympic Movement tell us that everything which is transitory in character eventually is destined to disappear and be replaced by another institution qualitatively and quantitatively different and unique. The changes that the institution of the Olympic Games undergo until it reaches a relative stage of maturity is one of the scientific aspects of its dialectics. Also the question of whether or not the institution of the Olympic Games reached this stage is a very legitimate one, which the dialectical study of the institution can show, if we consider the relations that the institution poses with the development of the rising new productive forces of our epoch.

The dialectics of the Olympic Games Movement suggest that the Olympic Games institution will not necessarily, develop and grow in a positive manner. The institution will ascend and descend in fame, power and appeal. Crisis will interchange or exchange its place with success and rapid growth. The purpose of the dialectical study of the Olympic Movement is to make a timely prediction of potential crisis and malfunctions, and to carefully study the crisis, estimate its extent, how it might affect other societal institutions.

If we understand dialectics as a process of change then the dialectics of the Olympic Movement have their limitations. The opposite of dialectical growth and change is mechanical change. Mechanical change means an unexpected disruption of the dialectical development process and a temporary delay in the production of new contradictions and problems. Because, contradictory and problematic situations, that arise in the Olympic Movement, indicate that the Movement is still alive, ready to transform itself in order to accomodate the new requirements of the times. In other words mechanical change means stagnation. It means the negation of the Olympic Movement or even worse its existence.

Therefore, the dialectics of the Olympic Games compel us to understand very clearly the history of evolution and change of that institution, so that we can predict its future.

But how does the dialectical method actually proceed when studying the Olympic Games? The answer is not simple. We should be aware that the Olympic Games is the result of a sequence of processes, often very complex. To uncover the complex processes, dialectics suggests that we should consider the Olympic Games institution as containing its opposite, which struggles with the old form, ideas and structures in order to negate it.

This is supported by evidence that in the Olympic Games we have many contradictory tendencies which push the institution towards its decomposition. The Olympic Games Movement has both "friends" and "enemies". These opposing elements in the Olympic Movement cause antagonisms, in the sense that one force always struggles to maintain the actual system of affairs and its established superstructure, and the other force negates the actual things; either negating the seperate entities of the imstitution or sometimes negating it as a whole. Nobody wants to play the game if he is trapped in a situation that did not initially have his own consent. That is the situation today with the position of the socialist and some third-world countries concerning the celebration of the 1988 Olympic Summer Games in Seoul, South Korea.

Thus, the newly emerged forces, not satisfied by the actual state of the things in the Olympic Movement, ask for changes and for the transformation of the rules and regulations of the institution, before they negate it as a whole and pull out permanently.[16]

Within the Olympic Movement today there are forces that struggle towards the affirmation of the existing situation of relations and other, opposing forces, which press towards the negation of the existing situation in the Olympic Movement. This struggle seems necessery and is the one which moves forward the history of the Olympic Movement. Therefore, the direction of the Olympic Movement and its future is going to be determined by the outcome of the struggle between the two main opposing forces; the forces of affirmation of the existing system of affairs, and the forces that challenge the actual structure and its content. So, the discussion above leads us to conclude, according to the general tendencies and trends developing in the Olympic Movement, that the investigation of changes, of both a quantitative and qualitative character are needed in order to discover the preconditions for the milieu of the Olympic Movement.

B. The Preconditions for Qualitative Change in the Olympic Games

Dialectics suggest that gradual quantitative changes, at a definite stage of accumulation, lead to qualitative changes , which can be negative or positive. The problem of giantism in the Olympic Games is associated with the negative aspects of qualitative changes. Many authors and Olympic officials have suggested that the Olympic Games have grown to such an extent that it is very difficult for the third world countries ever to host the Games. The expenses associated with the hosting of the Olympic events are such that they prevent the debt-stricken developing world from organizing the Olympic Games. Another negative aspect of quantitative expansion of the Olympic Games is that it has become a very complex organization and now needs highly skilled and specialized personel, to successfully manage and secure the optimal operation of the Games, as well as the televising of the events to the outside world.

Some argue that the expansion of the International Olympic Committee, such that it becomes a really universal and representative body of all N.O.C's in the world, will create administrative malfunctions, and will result in an increased bureaucratization.

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[16] As it happened with the "bourgeois" and "workers" Olympic Games in the 1920's - 40's.

The positive aspects of the quantitative changes in the International Olympic Movement are:

1. The inclusion of more sports in the Games so that Olympism and the Olympic ideals can be a factor keeping these sports out of the reach of commercialism, as long as the Games continue to exclude professional athletes. [17]
2. The ever increasing participation of women in the Olympic Movement is a very positive event, which makes the movement a potential liberator of women's capabilities;
3. The ever increasing number of cities willing to bid for hosting the Olympic Games;
4. The ever increasing popularity of the Games. It was estimated that 2 billion people had the chance to watch the 1984 Los Angeles Games;
5. The ever increasing number of records that are broken during the Games;
6. The ever increasing number of nationalities and races taking part in the Games;
7. The ever increasing number of sport administrators and professionals that are employed, full or parttime, to dispatch the Olympic Movement's needs;
8. The achievement of transforming the I.O.C. from a debtor organization to a big stock-holder and estate owner which guarantees the continuous administration of the Solidarity[18] Programs, which involves athletic training of coaches and sport administrators of developing countries by specialized athletic personnel.
9. The increasing number of I.O.C. members and an increasing number of I.O.C. affiliates with many other international organizations responsible for the development of international and national sporting activity.

Some authors (Riordan 1984, Solakov 1976)suggest that the concept of unity between the quantititive and quanlitative aspects of the modern Olympic Movement are the ones that will condition the future of the Movement. However any possible calculation which would argue that after listing the many quantitative changes occurring in the Movement, it will be inevitable that some qualitative changes will also take place in it is simply misleading. Because, if we consider the two categories, "quantity", measuring the magnitude, pace, and degree of development of the Olympic Movement, and "quality", meaning the nature and essence of the Movement itself, we see that when quantitative changes occur, positive or negative, they are not necessarily followed by either identical or parallel qualitative changes. In order for qualitative changes to occur, we need something more than small and slow quantitative changes. In this instance, the social, political, and economic context, in which the Olympic Games live and grow is the one which will finally determine any qualitiative changes, appealing to the nature and essence of the Movement. It appears that the world's socio-economical and political contradictions are in a very stable, yet stagnated stage, where no resolution has occurred in favor of real qualitative leaps in both the content and the form of the international community and in the Olympic Movement itself. However, this thesis does not necessarily mean that qualitative changes do not occur, but rather the opposite. The emphasis was on the fact that the concepts "quantity" and "quality" are not tautological.

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[17] Meaning athletes that do sport for a living as they are exploited by big financial concerns, similar to Rome's Hypodrome "athletes".

[18] Solidarity programs are special I.O.C.'s programs, which are taking place in various developing countries in order to train sport administrators, coaches and athletes. The programs are administered by a special ad-hoc committee that the I.O.C. established twenty years ago.

There is also some confusion over the claims made by some Olympic officials that when the Olympic Movement grows quantitatively it loses some of its initial qualitative aspects related to its ideals and aims. Zakhavin (1985) suggests that the Olympic Games are not concerned with increases in the quantity of participants, in either the performance or the administration level. But rather that the Olympic Games institution is an institution for a specific "elite" group of people, sportswomen/sportsmen, and therefore as all "elite" movement preoccupied with records and not with the number of participants, races, sexes, or countries taking part in the Olympic Games.

Contrary to the above view, it is suggested here, that quantitative aspects should be in unity and very related to the quality of the Games. Rather the problem for this thesis is as stated by kouznetsov: (1985: 105-106) "Is the Olympic Movement in the stage where qualitative changes can occur? And what are the necessary preconditions that will very positively influence the nature and the essential aspects of the Olympic Movement?"

To answer the first question is a very difficult task. But, perhaps the answer to the second question might provide an enlightening conclusion which should initiate the debate over the first question. Therefore, the necessary preconditions for the prediction of qualitative changes in the Olympic Movement are:

1. The further development of the mass sport participation movement.
2. The democratization of national and international athletic bodies.
3. The development and the legislation of an international and national athletic legal document which will prevent the commercialization of sport and will guarantee equal access and rights to sport and recreation to all people.
4. The maintenance of a high level of athletic achievement through healthy athletic antagonism between countries with different socio-economical and political systems
5. The elimination of problems of uneven development between developed and developing countries concerning their sport achievement and participation in all levels of sports and in the specific manifestations of the modern Olympic Games.

Thus, as we said earlier in this section the facilitation of the necessary preconditions for qualitative changes in the Olympic Movement should be looked at in connection with the overall social, political and economical context, in which the Olympic Movement functions as an integral part of it. The basic determinant for qualitative change to occur in the international social context is the outcome of both, the external, to the Movement, international class struggle between the two politico-economical and social world systems of capitalism and socialism, as well as the reflection of the struggle of the same world systems in the Movement itself. Therefore, the next section justifiably deals with the struggle and the unity of the above opposite worlds and how it affects the Movement.

C. The Struggle and Unity of Opposite in the Olympic Movement and the Existing Manifested Contradictions

"The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles." (Marx 1976:108)

In the modern history of the Olympic Movement there are identifiable forces that struggle towards the affirmation of the existing relations in it and other, opposite forces, that struggle toward the negation of the Olympic Games concept and organization as a whole. Thus, opposing forces are confined to struggle within the specific environment of the Olympic Games Movement and the International sport movement, coexisting and growing together.

The task of identifying these opposing forces is not an easy one. Guidance comes from the observation of the social context and the international system of the politico-economical division of the world, from which the Olympic Movement is directly affected since it is an institution created by the people.[19]

The struggle of opposities in the Olympic Movement reflects the history of struggle in the global society. The origins of the modern Olympic Movement, and its rules and regulations, are modeled by the ideological aspects of the colonial epoch and the times of the rapid growth of capitalism. (Castro 1984:4) As a result, the first I.O.C. membership, the main leaders of the movement at that time, were aristocrats, estate owners, bankers and generals. Their views of the socio-cultural, political and economic aspects of life, their way of life, and their status in society, distinguished them from the general populace; therefore the Olympic ideology and its main concept of Olympism, allowed direct or indirect political, racial, and sexual discrimination.[20]

However, and in spite of the I.O.C's discrimination, after the first world war the working class people were able to establish their own sports clubs, either through their Labor Unions or through their political parties. (Hoberman 1986:17).

Coubertin, an aristocrat himself and a big estate owner in Northern France, had a "distaste" for "Marxism" and the "revolutionary impulse" of the revolt of the Russian impoverished workers and peasants in 1917. Coubertin saw socialism and working classes governments as "unlettered and worst of all as hostile to *l'enseignement superior* (higher education)" (Ibid:33) which of course meant to exclude the sons and daughters of the working class people. Thus the only defence mechanism for the working class parties was to establish their own sport festivals to oppose to those of the bourgeois. Therefore, the Workers Olympiads were a boycott phenomenon which came into existence on antithetical grounds , a response to the exclusion of workers and the lower classes from the bourgeois sport clubs and festivals.(Ibid: 17) The Worker's Sports, like the Worker's Olympiads, offered an alternative to the bourgeois Olympics in the following ways, as a force against:

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[19] People here is a very general category.

[20] Excluding woman, working class people, and political opponents, like the exclussion of German and Russian athletes after the first world war. Of couse the exclusion of blacks and Asians was given since the colonialists would not naturally allow them to represent their national and racial situation.

1. the commercialization of sports
2. the direct and indirect expulsion of women from the Games;
3. the racial, religious and national discrimination practiced;
4. the highly competitive forms of sports;[21]
5. the undemocratic and unequal representation of the masses of sportsman/sportswomean in the administration of sport;
6. Opposition toward nationalism, millitarism, zionism, and chauvinism.

Coubertin, knowledgable about the new developments in the international sports arena, was monitoring the strength and popularity of the workers sports movement as well as their Olympic Games festivals. He is quoted by Hoberman (Ibid:62) as saying that "it is curious to note that along side the capitalist organization of sport exists a working class sport movement".

Actually, in 1926, Coubertin, as a result of personal embarassment from the popularity of the Workers Olympics, began negotiations with the secretary of the Socialist Worker's Sport International (Lucerne I) Jules Derlinger. (Ibid:62) There were almost 4,000,000 sportsman and sportswoman registered with the workers sports clubs in Europe and South America. The numbers of participants in the Workers Olympics were 150,000 in 1924 Frankfurt Workers Olympics, which were organized by the Socialist International (Lucerne I) and another 100,000 in Vienna for the 1931 [22] The Worker's Olympics were not inferior to the bourgeois Olympics either in the area of sport records or in sport organization. They were not known to the broader public and they were not supported by business and corporate interests as were the I.O.C.'s Olympics.[23]

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[21] As they were the first to introduce the term "mass sport". (Riordan 1986:30)

[22] Detailed infromation about the Workers Olympics can be found in Dr. Riordan's monograph "The Worker Sport and Socialist Alternative".

[23] The counter-bourgeois Olympics (Riordan 1986 {monograph}) were organized from 1921 for the first time, until 1937 in Antwerp, Belgium.The 1943 Workers Olympics in Finland were baulked by war and did not take place.

After the second world war the situation in the Olympic Movement underwent many changes but, through a very slow process compared with the U.N.O. (United Nations Organization). For Worker's sport and the Workers Olympics World War II meant the beginning of a new epoch. A shift was made from uncompromising isolation to joint activity. That joint activity happened first within the Worker's Olympic Movement with the unification of the Red Sport International representatives and the Lucerne's ones.[24]

Nazism and World War II had destroyed the socialist-democratic parties and their sport clubs. Their sport leaders were sent to concentration camps. Fascism though did not manage to abolish Soviet Sport and the Red Sport International. On the contrary, the struggle against fascism and the results of the Second World War strengthened the position of the workers sport movement in the Eastern European Communist states of the post- war era. Following the peaceful coexistence and the rejection of leftist trends and theories which opposed bourgeois sport to proletarian ones allowed the newly emerged socialist states and workers states to send their athletes to participate in the bourgeois sport organizations at a pace which was dictated, as we will see later, by the bourgeois class interests in sport. Representation of socialist and workers states in the Olympic Movement was delayed in spite of their policy of peaceful coexistence, by the effects of the Cold War which the West imposed on the Socialist states. The beginning of the Cold War was "officially launched by Winston Churchill" at Fulton, Missouri in March 5, 1946. (Komorowski 1986:70) It was connected and was affected by the policy and the activites of the Western States within the U.N.O. and this atmosphere of mutual mistrust (Morozov 1968:15) lasted up to the Test Ban Treaty between the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R., which was signed at Moscow in 1963. (Taylor 1978) In the I.O.C. the Cold War climate between the two superpowers lasted untill the replacement of the "anticommunist president of the I.O.C., Avery Brundage". (Hoberman 1984:54) His successor, Lord Killanin, brought the Olympic Congress to Sofia, Bulgaria, a socialist country, in 1974.

It should be mentioned that despite the argument that the clash between the socialist and capitalist countries is continuous and inevitable, the Olympic Movement and many other institutions like the Red Cross etc..., united instead the countries and their sportsman/sportswomen; under the common humanitarian ideals and goals of brotherhood and mutual understanding. (Solakov 1976) Olympic Sport is a universal phenomenon in which sport organization takes universal form. This is because the opposite ideological and political paradigms of socialism and capitalism need to struggle in unity. If they need to test their athletic prowess, they have to do so in the common battlefields of the Olympic host city or country.

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[24] Lucerne was the socialist Sport International based on the power of the Social-democratic parties in Western Europe in particular.

It is more obvious today than ever before, after the continuous boycotts of the Olympic Games, by both capitalist and socialist countries, that the Olympic Movement symbolizes the national class struggle existing in the international scene; on the one hand the forces of change and on the other the capitalist old world. Even UNESCO, in its resolution, has attested, according to Riordan, that "the Olympic Games provide an important testing ground for the two great political units". (Riordan 1986)

Therefore, the case we need to examine next is whether the new emerging forces in the Olympic Movement (socialist and developing nations) feel confortable enough with the old ideology and value system of it, or if they make serious efforts to negate it.[25]

D. The Negation of the Olympic System

In dialectics, negation is never absolute; negation means replacement of the old by the new. But new developments arise in a historical process of the resolved contradictions, thus borrowing the essential characteristics of the prior social system of relations either in society as a whole or in the Olympic system of relations. The process of the negation of the old system of relations springs from the fundamental quantitative and qualitative aspects of the system ,as well as to its motivation due to the result of the class struggle. Negation, therefore, has a material basis, meaning the socio-economic, ideological, and political positions/interests of the productive forces and their representatives into the system of relations of production. Sport is highly interconnected with the above relations of production since it belongs to the sphere of reproduction for maintaining the capacity to work. Since Marxism considers the labor process as the fundamental aspect of human existence, sport and labour activities they both definitely depend upon the major political and societal conflicts which arise in the production sphere.

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[25] Either as a whole or in particular aspects of it.

Negation is a general philosophical category, which explains the emergence of new developments in the international division of labor and as a consequence in sporting activity. Negation sometimes denotes the crisis of the old system of relations. Many authors have suggested that the Olympic Movement today is at the dawn of its development (Stolyarov, 1986). Both Stolyarov (1986) and Ilmarinen (1984) believe that "forms of limited international sporting "contact virtually always cause damage and leads" the Olympic Movement "to stagnation". The above authors refer to the situation of the boycotts of the 1980 and 1984 Olympic Games. They even go further to suggest that "any attempt to limit contacts in sport would mean betrayal of the very essence of sport would lead quickly to its decline". Riordan has suggested that the Montreal Olympic were the last "normal" Olympics, in terms of the athletic superpower's peaceful struggle taking place in the Olympic Movement.

Negation also means the existence of many contradictory processes occurring in the Olympic Movement and international sport in general. The result of these contradictory processes is many times disintegrative, resulting in disunity and misunderstanding. (Ilmarinen 1984:56). Negation in the Olympic Movement can come either peacefully or revolutionarly. Peaceful transformation and negation of the old take place over a long period of time. Whereas revolutionary changes and negation are abrupt and take place in a short period of time. It is suggested here that the Olympic Movement is presently in a phase of peaceful transformation without any revolutionary negations occurring whatsoever. This situation might change rapidly during and after the Seoul Olympics.

Many sports writers and sport sociologists,[24] like J. M. Brohm (1979), Lucas (1984) and Edwards (1984), to a certain extent, have expressed negative views which reject some of the very basic foundations of the ideology and structure of the modern Olympic Movement. Brohm also has suggested that the Olympic Games does not have anything more to offer to the current and future generations, but the Games perpetuate few peoples', or groups of peoples' particular interests. Pessimism is born among the above writers mainly because they also express the interest of the old world. Their analysis is very shallow because they have not studied all of the socialist and third world countries' views concerning the democratization of the Olympic Movement.

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[24] In our case western authors

Pessimism and negation of the existing Olympic Movement comes from the western authors because western countries' athletic power is in decline; as they do not any more dominate the international athletic meetings and appear less frequently in the world's athletic records lists. The situation in sports has changed completely today in favor of the socialist and third world countries. At the 1976 Montreal Olympics the Socialist countries received almost 57% of all the medals in the Games. The observed decline of the capitalist countries in power and and control over athletic performance adds to "imperialism's cultural pessimism",as well as it is influence by it (GDR Review 1976:309)

In fact the Olympic Games, with the socialist countries competing in them, do not have too much to offer to the capitalist propaganda of supremacy in sport since the first position now may be taken by the socialist athletic machine (Riordan 1986). Also the attack and revision of basic elements of the Olympic ideals, and the Olympic Charter, as is the case with the introduction of professionals into the Games, can be considered as another coup d' etat of the capitalist (big business) interests to profit from international athletic festivals. The above can be acheived through the "political apartheid in the world of international sport", which can be considered as the monopoly of the capitalist world in the administrative bodies of international sport. (Riordan 1986:40) "Political apartheid" includes abandonment of Olympic Sport as was the case of the U.S.-inspired boycott of the 1980 Olympics in Moscow (Ibid:40). [27]

In sum, we can argue that negation of the Olympic Games Movement can be expressed as a form of limited or disrupted international sporing contact, which eventually can lead to disunity and misunderstanding among the members-nations of the Movement, despite the original goals of it. It was also suggested above that negation of the Olympic system can occure either in peacefull or revolutionary kind of forms and that the situation today tends to affirm the earlier form. Moreover, western pessimism, which can be perceived as an other form of negation of the Olympic Games, can be partly attributed to the decline of the western nations' unofficial achievement records of the Games. The above forms of negation pull the Movement to either revolutionary or peacefull *changes*, thus is the subject of the next section.

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[27] The same arbitrary decisions have been taken but this time indirectly and with the cooperation of the upperclass and aristocrats in the I.O.C., in the case of Seoul and the celebration of the 1988 Summer Olympic Games (Riordan 1986)

E. Development and Change in the Olympic Movement

Development and change are two interelated concepts, with development as the basic prequisite to change. They do not preclude stability and rest in the system as that would be against the very basis of dialectics. Fedoseyev argued that dialectics does not reject the idea that a social institution, such as the Olympic Games, "survives" within periods of stability and rest. On the contrary, he asserts that dialectics should recognize the fact that both "movement, change and development" are "universal froms of existence for any social institution" as well as stability and rest. (Fedoseyev 1984:12). The dialectical conception of development contains the following characteristics: as decrease and increase; as repetition and development; and as the unity of opposites.[21]

The source and the substance of development is expressed in the "dichotomy of the unity into mutually exclusive opposites and the struggle of these opposites". (Chepikov 1978:41) Development leads always to changes, usually because of or through conflicts. Therefore conflict is the source of all developments. Engels (1982:63) says that change is always a process that takes place between at least two bodies of which one loses a definite amount of (motion) power of ones quality while the other gains a corresponding quantity of motion of another's quality.

A characteristic and heuristic example of what Engels holds can be obtained in the Olympic Movement's history and the struggle between the two socio-economical and political powers of socialism and capitalism; a struggle which influences all development and change in the Olympic Movement today. This struggle is very well demonstrated in Figure 1, which suggests that what the capitalist powers lost, in terms of their success in the Olympic Games, the socialist countries won it. This is a result of the struggle of the two opposing socio-economical and political systems. The reader can observe in this in the figure that in the year 1952, when for the first time a socialist state entered the capitalist-western Games, the capitalist powers were extremely powerfull in the unofficial account of the total of gold, silver and bronze medals. Their share of the total medals was almost seventy five percent while the socialist's block collected only approximately the remaining twenty five percent. But, as we view in the same figure, in the passage of time the socialists became strong enough to overturn the results. By the year 1976, they managed to collect more than half of the total medals in the Montreal Games. (See, Popov 1984, and Riordan's measures in 1981, 1982) The situation after 1976 is not presented in the figure's percentages, since the two opposing socio-economical powers have not competed since the Montreal 1976 Games.

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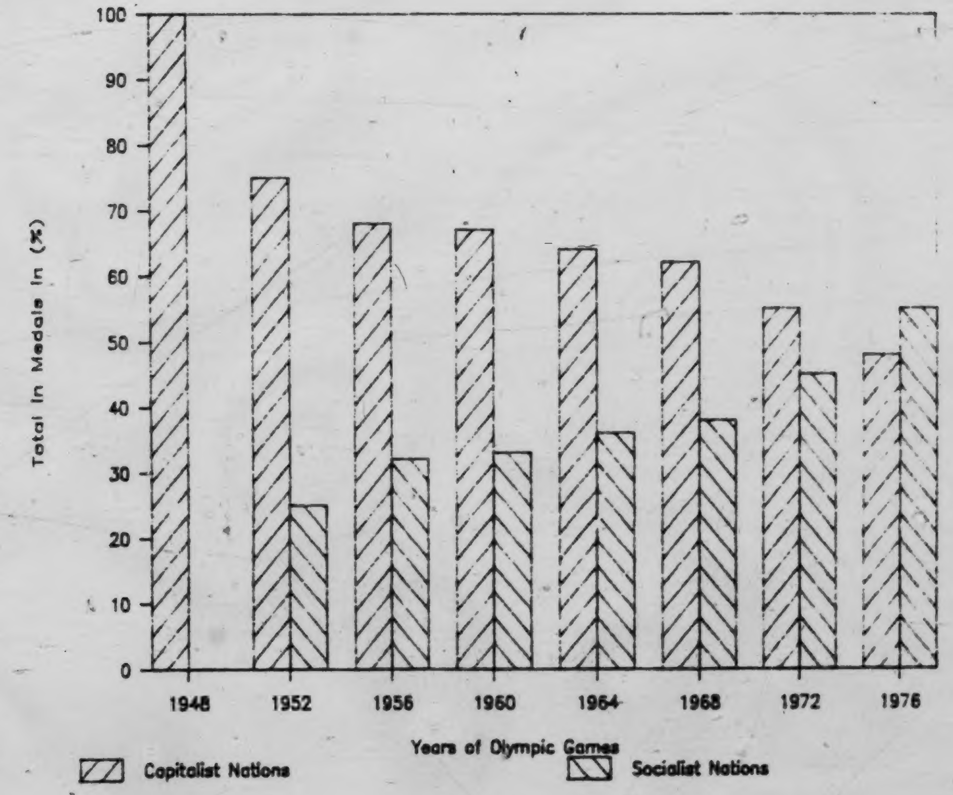
[21] It means the division of a unity into mutually exclusive opposites and their reciprocal relations.

Figure 1

SUCCESS IN THE OLYMPIC GAMES COMPETITION. SUMMER GAMES: BETWEEN 1952 AND 1976

OLYMPIC YEAR	CAPITALIST (%)	SOCIALIST (%)	TOTAL MEDALS WON (%) *
1952	75	25	100
1956	68	32	100
1960	67	33	100
1964	64	36	100
1968	62	38	100
1972	55	45	100
1976	48	55 **	100

* Percentages approximate
** J. Riordans estimate



Therefore, we observe that in the Olympic Games an antagonistic climax has been evolved, between developed capitalist nations and developed socialist ones, despite the the emergence of developing nations, a power that emerged in international sport as a result of the decolonization process. The athletic performance of the athletes from the developing nations increased steadily since the 1950s and 1960s and today plays an ever more important role, competing with the developed countries in terms of medals, as well as in the ideological basis of the Movement. But, since the 1976 Olympics, these three different groupings have not compete with each other. The recent boycott of the Commonwealth Games shows the different ideological position of this group of countries concerning international sport relations. Since the 1976 Olympics these three athletic powers have not competed together and thus we do not have empirical data for comparative purposes. [19]

When studying change in the Olympic Games Movement we should also consider the broader international social context in which the Olympics exist. Trends that influence international relations directly affect the Olympic Movement. The Industrial Revolution and the creation of two antithetical classes of people, the one that owns the means of production and the other which is propertiless, has greatly influenced Olympic history. Also, the democratization process, and today neocolonization have greatly influenced the Olympic Movement too, both in terms of quantity and quality. A large number of people freed themselves from colonial claims and many new nations were formed. The Olympic Movement today counts 162 -very recently 164 - National Olympic Committees in its membership roster.

Neocolonialism, which is a newer development, is a consequence of third world underdevelopment and their enormous dependence on the developed capitalist countries' economics. The results of neocolonialism can be viewed in the backwardness of the athletic programs in the third world countries and are particularly obvious among the blacks of South Africa. (Lapchick 1975:22)

But history shows that each new generation of either classes or nations, like the newlly emerged Africans, Asian, and Polynesian nations, works out new modes of lives that suit it best. This is partly the idea of progress which is related to the concepts of development and change.[30] However, it is not in the scope of the thesis to accomodate a detailed analysis of the idea of progress in the Olympic Movement, but only to indicate its relevance to the already developed concepts of development and change fundamental for the structural flow of this thesis. The idea of progress is central for our conclusion, because it epitomizes all progressive developments and changes in the Olympic Movement, and how and in what degree the contemporary Olympic Movement satisfies the need for democratic changes and developments in order to accomodate the interests of the newly emerged nations. However, we should not only consider progress but also its opposite, retrogration, which encompasses negative changes and developments, as directed against the very interests of the newly emerged powers in the Movement. Progress and retrogration are highly abstact categories and they express the most contradictory character of the international politico-economical systems of our world and thus the Olympic Movement.

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[19] For an analysis of the specific interests of this group of nations we should be refered to the Chapter III and IV of the present thesis.

F. The Internal and Most Essential Contradictions of the Olympic Movement

This is the last of the section of the present chapter and shall be considered as the concluding one, because contradictions, perceived as internal and external to the organism under examination, should be grasped as the most essential aspects of the Olympic Movement's development. Because development, change and progress in the Olympics, for which dialectical and historical materialism is all about, would be meaningless without the occurrances of the contradictory processes. However, internal contradictions are the ones which concern us more, since they affect the Movement directly.

A serious example of internal contradiction in the Olympic Movement is the occurrances of various boycotts, conflicts which result in a break of unity and continuity in the main manifestations of the Olympic Movement and its Games. We should also notice that internal contradiction in the Olympic Games can be either antagonistic or non-antagonistic. Antagonistic contradictions have their social and ideological bases; they are more important because they express the critical conditions and weak points of international relations. The social and ideological bases of contradictions can be found in the international ideological, political struggle between the two main political blocks; the socialist and capitalist ones. It seems that the developing world among them the Non-Aligned Countries do not yet hold enough power to play a very determinant role in the international political arena. This should be mainly attributed to their financial situation.

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[30] The idea of progress, social progress in this instance, has as criteria for its foundation "the degree of development of the productive forces of the economic system, and the institutions of its superstructure determined by it, together with the development and dissemination of science and culture, the development of the individual, and the degree of extention of individual freedom." (Dictionary of Philosophy 1984:339)

The sharpness of contradictions can be witnessed when we compare and contrast the level of success of the forces within the Olympic Movement (i.e., socialist world and capitalist powers), as presented in figure #1, and their representation levels in the I.O.C. This shows a very low correlation between the two. Thus, by observing figure #2 in the next page, we can understand why the standards for the I.O.C. membership are in jeopardy. The Olympic Charter postulates that the countries having the greatest contribution to the success of the Olympic Games should also have a bigger representation in the executive body of the I.O.C. However, if this rule was to be implemented on the base of the success level of the countries in the Olympic Games, then the socialist block of countries (for our thesis purposes we prefer to look at these countries as a group of states having similar politico-economical background) should also hold a kind of majority in the I.O.C. Of course, this is not the case for the current I.O.C., as it is very well illustrated by our figures.

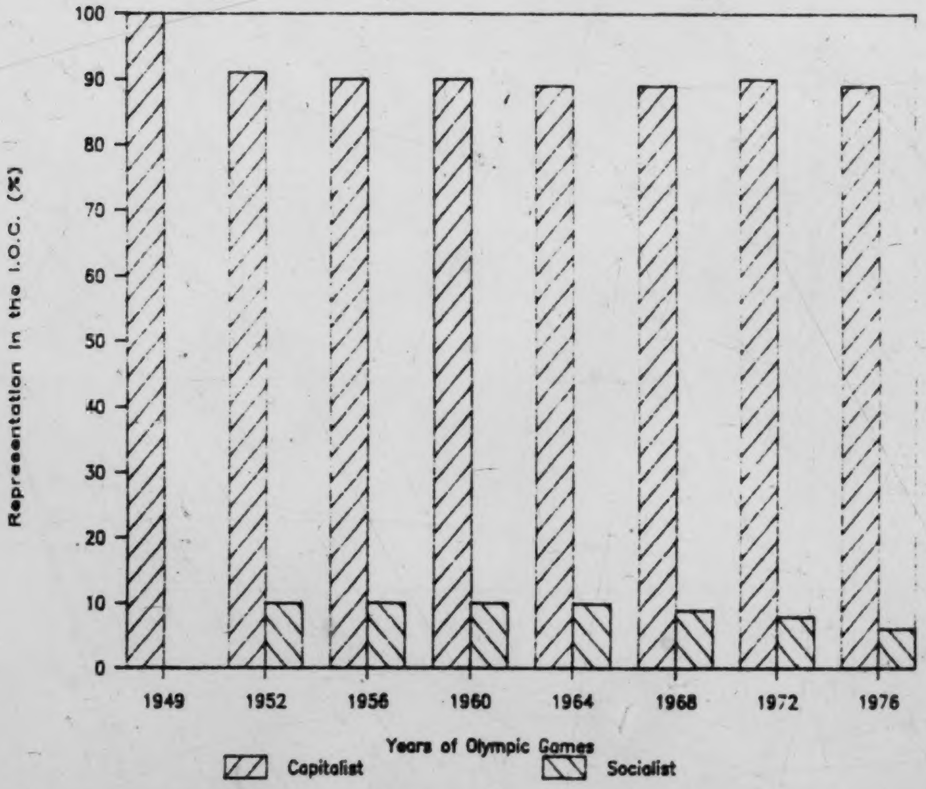
Figure 2

REPRESENTATION OF POLITICO-ECONOMICAL GROUPS OF COUNTRIES IN THE I.O.C.

OLYMPIC YEAR	CAPITALIST (%)	SOCIALIST (%)	TOTAL MEMBERSHIP IN (%) *
1952	91	9.9	100
1956	90	10	100
1960	90	10	100
1964	90	9	100
1968	89	8	97 **
1972	90	7	97 **
1976	89	6	95 **

* Percentages approximate

** The remaining % belong to the citizins of the Non-aligned countries



Data was collected from two different sources: a) the biographies of I.O.C. as published by the I.O.C., Lousanne, Switzerland, 1985, and b) the list of I.O.C. members provided by Sergrave, J. and Chu, D. (1979).

Theoretical claims suggest that (Ilyichov 1977:36) "the struggle between the two world systems, socialism and capitalism , is the focus of the fundamental contradictions of the present era". This is how the development of international sporting relations is determined by the historical struggle of the two social systems; on the one hand "the forces of the socialism, peace and democracy" and on th other hand "the forces of imperialism , reaction and aggression." (Ibid:37)

Continuing our socialist critique of the Olympic Movement's structure we should further look for explanations of the sharp conflicting situation developed in it, in the context of its origins in early "capitalist society". Therefore, it bore the imprint of class contradictions, class and racial oppression and social injustice. The leaders, who determined I.O.C. policy, "indulged in talk about their independence and actually isolated" the Olympic Committee "from the world of sport". (Hoberman 1984:106) Riordan, (1986) in his valuable critique of imperialism and commercialism in sports, describes the east-west struggle and its political dimention. He states that as long as the west was dominant in the Olympic Games "there was never a suggestion that the Olympics were too big, political, nationalistic or unworthy of a particular country". The loss of this supremacy in sport arenas, and the Olympic Games, as the Figure 2 shows, has caused Western groups to conclude that the time has come to sever links with the Olympic Movement and to form a "West oriented grouping of sporting nations". (Riordan 1981)

This trend, which was for the first time mentioned by Riordan in 1981, holds true, if we look at the 1984 "western style" Olympic Games of Los Angeles. The next Summer Olympic Games in Seoul might result in a "copy" of Los Angeles Games. South Korea, the host country of the next summer Games, does not have political relations and it is not a recognized state by more than 37 nations in the world. Despite these facts the aristocratic I.O.C. awarded the Games to South Korea with the promise to capitalize from the Seoul Games in the expence of democracy. (Alexandrakis 1986:12) We will suggest that the concept of democracy, meaning international participation in all levels and organs of the Olympic Movement, is an integral part of the concept of Olympism. The concept of Olympism, which has not been defined yet by the I.O.C., should include the concept of democracy. Otherwise the ideas printed in the Olympic Charter of peace, equality and international understanting, become meaningless.

III. CHAPTER THREE: The Dialectics of the I.O.C.

A. Introduction.

Before we start the analysis of the dialectical processes taking place within the I.O.C. we should first explain why we examine the I.O.C. separetely from the dialectical analysis of the Olympic Movement. Our rationale is based on the fact that the concept of the Olympic Movement is the one that includes the I.O.C. in its territory. That means that the I.O.C. is conscidered as an aspect of the concept 'Olympic Movement', and that it needs separate dialectical analysis, as Benson (1977) suggests. The I.O.C. is one of the fundamental executive bodies of the Olympic Movement. Other bodies are the N.O.Cs and the I.S.Fs. Certainly the interdependence of the I.O.C. and the Olympic Movement is obvious, however the I.O.C. by itself can be characterized as the most important, independent body on which both the N.O.Cs and I.S.Fs dependent in order to participate and share the Olympic Games' benefits. It is important to understand that not all changes occuring in the Olympic Movement are reflected in the I.O.C. and this is apparent if we contrast the structure of the N.O.Cs and I.S.Fs membership, which is based on a nation-state base, with this of the I.O.C.'s, which operates on non-universal criteria for the recruitment of its membership.Therefore the independant dialectical analysis of the I.O.C. will be fruitfull to obtain an understanding of its own internal contradictions and how they lead the organization to its own negation. Its negation does not necessarily depend or otherwise affect the negation of the Olympic Movement as a whole or as an educational and pedagogical system.

Dialectics studies organizations, like the International Olympic Committee, as a part of the whole of a larger structure. It studies organizational functions, how they are reproduced and how change occurs in the arrangement of the whole of which I.O.C. and its functions are a part. It also describes the interconnections between the development of global contradictions, taking place in the socio-political, economic and cultural spheres, and how they affect the Olympic Movement and the I.O.C. (Benson 1977)

An equally important aspect of the dialectics of the I.O.C. is how the organizational content and form of the I.O.C. was produced, and how it is maintained. The maintainance and confirmation of the organization's ideology and structure mainly derived from the people who control power in the organization, and who have arranged its ideology and structure to fit their particular interests.

According to Benson the dialectical analysis of organizational structure includes:

1. "The process of social construction" of the organization and the specific social forces operating for the construction of the organization;
2. "The organization as totality in relation to its social context" and the study of the social environment of the organization in terms of scientific and technological changes; as well as the changes in the politico-economic mode of production, and the replacement of one politico-economic system by another;
3. The specific "contradictions that allowed its evolution and emergence, as a hierarchical power";(e.g. in today's international sport).
4. The "social praxis" in which the members of the organization are engaged, "concerning the struggle for control over it"; and
5. Despite Benson's classification, study is needed to analyse the quantitative and qualitative changes that lead to the conflicting situation necessary for the negation of the old organization's ideology and structure.(Benson 1977:4)

The above theoretical framework and the most general laws of dialectics and historical materialism will be followed to reveal the I.O.C.'s internal and external contradictions.

B. The Dialectic Process of the I.O.C. Democratization and the Limitations Imposed by Its Oligarchical Ideology and Structure

The International Olympic Committee was created by the Congress of Paris in June 23rd, 1894, and it was "entrusted with the control and development of the modern Olympic Games".(Olympic Charter 1983:9) The I.O.C. is an international non-governmental organization, whose members are individuals representing the I.O.C. in their respective countries.

However, before we study the specific ideological and structural principles of the I.O.C. and their contradictions, we should view the emergence, development and change of the organization from a dialectical point of view.

Dialectics suggest that an organization's origins, functions and aims, as well as its potential for development and change, are rooted in the broader social epoch in which the organization originated. The influence of the dominant class-based ideology of the epoch is the main determinant for shaping the primary mission of the body. In the second half of the nineteenth century, impelled by the forces released by the industrial revolution, urbanization and the genesis of the new proletariat class, the Olympic movement gained a great impetus. The fundamental reason for the development of international organizations is based on the need to develop economic and political ties and to strengthen multi-lateral relations between states and peoples by means of various forms of cooperation; multi-lateral international cooperation on a regular basis, developed chiefly in transportation and communication. (Soviet Encyclopedia:67) Sports, with its great traditions, was also another human activity which required centralized planning and sponsorship. (Ibid:67)

Actually, the first international organization was formed when capitalist relations in production and the distribution of capitalist(imperialist) wealth were completely dominant throughout most of the world. Feudalism had already been defeated in most parts of Europe. In the underdeveloped nations of Eastern Europe, Asia and South America, feudalism was still however powerful. The I.O.C's origins suggest a feudal type organization as it was initiated by members of the landed aristocracy in cooperation with state officials and the military, most of whose family origins were based in the defeated feudal aristocracy.

The I.O.C. is one of the few International non-governmental organizations where aristocracy coexists with state functionaries. Even today, the ideals and structure of the I.O.C., bear the print of this feudal epoch. The ideas about amateurism and professionalism, the participation of women, of different races, political backgrounds and labor unions as well as the principle of cooptation, which is used even today for the selection of membership process, are the characteristics of this feudal type of organization.

The idea about "democracy", pivotal for the function of every organization, had a different meaning for the defeated feudal lords. Historical materialism suggests that once capitalist production relations dominated societal norms, the feudalist interpretation of "democracy" was outdated;[31] but the capitalist class could not implimment its power everywhere. It was not able to completely win the battle over the feudal ideas about "democracy". The I.O.C. and its ideology and structure are still today, in part, a remnant of feudal values concerning election procedures. The I.O.C. utilizes the principle of cooptation for the selection of its membership, a principle which was disqualified by the dominant bourgeoisie in the formation of the League of Nations in 1919.[32]

Indeed, the social and political changes resulting from the October 1917 Russian Revolution and the appearance of socialist republics[33] in Europe, as well as the request for peace and the construction of the League of Nations generated a new attitude towards human rights and the general welfare of the people of the planet. In the period between the two world wars democratic governments replaced the defeated monarchical regimes in many European and Latin American countries. Italy, Germany, Greece, Austria, the Soviet Union, Hungary, amongst other countries, began to overhaul feudal and monarchical values and structures. In this historical context (1917-1940) the working class sport movement developed and provided an opposite example from that of the I.O.C's Olympics matter which was discussed in the previous chapter (See p.14 of chap.#2)

Solakov (1974:41) was probably aware of the epoch's social context and its influence upon the I.O.C., when he mentioned that the I.O.C. was more democratic in the period between 1912 and 1940. Democracy here relates to the universality of membership in the organization. During the 1920's and 30's, the I.O.C. membership was larger than the existing N.O.Cs, and the principle of one-state one-vote was an I.O.C. practice. Today 162 N.O.Cs exist against only 92 I.O.C representatives, with 78 different nationalities represented. (Solakov 1974:40) However, Solakov does not provide us with any interpretation concerning the above fact; whether it was a consequence of the international class struggle or the sum of other factors including the class struggle. Definitely, more research is needed in order to develop an understanding of the I.O.C.'s behavior in the above mentioned period.

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[31] The feudalist concept of democracy indicates the lack of election procedures, meaning how representation was exercised at the time.

[32] Despite the exclusion of U.S.S.R. and the defeated Germany from the League.

[33] Meaning all Soviet Socialist Republics as established by the dominant Communist Party.

Nevertheless, as a result of the second World War and the emergence of a number of independant socialist nations in Europe and Asia, the Olympic Movement was pushed toward opposing values and interests, concerning the development of international sport. Both Edgstrom and Brundage have expressed their dislike for the acceptance of the socialist countries into the I.O.C and the Olympic movement. (Hoberman 1984:54) But despite the individual preferences, the climate of the epoch was now partly dictated by the policy of peaceful coexistence and detente, which was mainly promoted by Stalin and Roosevelt. (Berezhkov 1985:119) However, despite the cold war situation and the growing anti-Soviet feelings in the West, the Soviet Union was accepted into the Olympic Movement and participated in the Helsinki Olympics, with a team of almost 250 athletes, in 1952.

In the 1950s and the 1960s the decolonization process was in progress. More than 77 countries gained their political but not their economic independence from their colonial rulers, and they immediately joined the Olympic Movement. Some of these emerging countries and others from the old world, such as Yugoslavia and Argentina, now comprise the non-aligned group of countries, a relatively new development on the international political map. This group of countries has many times affected the Olympic Movement, and occasionally they do develop sport policy concerning problems such as apartheid in sport. Cuba, as a member of the non-aligned movement, is the most successful of these in terms of sporting achievement. (Wagner, 1986) [34] Also, it seems that Cuba has assumed a leading role in dealing with the different aspects of the problems of the democratization of the Olympic Movement.[35]

Nevertheless, it can be suggested that the broader international socio-political and cultural context provides the conditions for changes within the Olympic Movement. Still, despite the global political and structural changes, the I.O.C. is not willing to open its ideological and structural premises to an elective, democratic representation system, which would quarantee equal rights to the majority of N.O.Cs, I.S.Fs and the representatives of UNESCO.

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[34] Paper presented at the NASSS conference in Las Vegas, U.S.A.

[35] The above argument will be elaborated further on the forth chapter.

C. Understanding the Ideological and Structural Principles of the I.O.C.

The ideological principles of the I.O.C. and the Movement in general are reflected in the rules and regulations of the Olympic Charter. The Olympic Charter embodies Coubertin's philosophical dogmas, some of which are outdated (Oduydale 1982:738). They were mainly formulated "during the Victorian era of sport and athletics". Thus the distinction between amateur and professional, as well as the membership selection system of cooptation, are based on this epoch's ideology. (Epsy 1981:38)

The author suggests that the tendency prevailing, to depict the Olympic Movement and the I.O.C.'s activities as non-ideological is at least unrealistic. Authors, like Coubertin, pretend that the I.O.C.'s ideology stands above and beyond any particular political or socio-economical pressure. They hold that I.O.C. should stand independently of any class or state ideologies. Indeed, the tenets of dialectical and historical materialism accepts that there are some universal humanitarian values [34] and that the Olympic idea can count as one of them; but on the other hand materialist dialectics resolutely suggest that all ideas and concepts are the creations of particular material conditions, whether these are society's or man/woman's creations.

The Olympic Charter is the I.O.C.'s fundamental act. It provides the mission statements of the I.O.C. and has undergone many changes up to today. The Olympic Charter is an international legal document respected by many international bodies. It was adopted in the first Olympic Congress, in Paris, in 1894. Amendments to the Olympic Charter are so often and numerous that even "an Olympic official would nowadays scarcely be able to sum up the content of one rule or another". (Angelov 1974:75) As a result of the multiple changes to its content, both the nature of the Olympic Charter as well as the movement itself has been transformed to an extent which Coubertin, the father of the Games, could never visualize. This is why the I.O.C. organizes conferences and workshops to teach the new generation of Olympic enthusiasts the significance of Coubertin's pedagogical system as related to the Olympic Charter.

The contemporary Chapter is binding on the I.O.C. and and all its affiliated organizations, like the General Assembly of the National Olympic Committees and the Association of International Sport Federations. The rules and regulations of the Olympic

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[34] Like the concept of peace.

Charter should be binding for any sports federation at the national, regional, or international level, in order to be able to receive the financial assistance from either the I.O.C and its respective N.O.C., or the respective government's, as is the case within the European Economic Community.

Thus, the Olympic Charter is a world constitution for sports whose provisions should not contradict the norms and principles of modern international law. [37] Revisions to the Olympic Charter can affect the development of sport in every country independently of size and power. The Chapter contends that the I.O.C. is a "body corporate by international law having juridicial status and perpetual succession". It has been recognized by the Government of Switzerland and the city of Lausanne as an international organization. Its permanent headquarters are in Lausanne, Switzerland, and are owned by the I.O.C. on land which was donated by P. de Coubertin and his associates in Switzerland. It is a non-profit organization and its aims are:

1. To encourage the organization and development of sport and competitions.
2. To inspire and lead sport within the Olympic ideal, thereby promoting and strengthening friendship among the sportsmen/ sportswomen of all countries.
3. To ensure the regular celebration of the Games.
4. To make the Olympic Games even more worthy of their glorious history and of the high ideals which inspired their revival by Baron de Coubertin. (Olympic Charter 1983:9)

The I.O.C.'s ideology is reflected in its membership. The I.O.C. selects such people "as it considers qualified to be members" with the only provision that they speak French or English. These persons should reside in a country which possesses a N.O.C. recognized by the I.O.C. Therefore, membership of the I.O.C. is not necessarily universal. Some countries do not have any national representing them on the I.O.C. The rules provide that "there shall be only one member in any country except in the largest and most active countries of the Olympic Movement". (Olympic Charter 1983:9)

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[37] Here, it should be pointed out that there has not been any scientific analysis of even a descriptive nature, which would have tried to compare the Olympic Charter's statuses with these of the International Law. The above fact was pointed out by Dr. MacAlloon, a keynote speaker at the NASSS 1986 Conference in Las Vegas.

But what are the criteria for the size and quality of the contribution of a country to the success of the Olympic Games? Is it because of the land they occupy on earth? Is it because of their population Is it because of their athlectic prowess and success in the Olympic Games? If this was the case, why then are the most successful countries in the Olympic Games today not represented in the I.O.C.? Apparently the above rule of the I.O.C. is incomplete and needs revision. Later when we compare the ideological and structural principles of the U.N. and the I.O.C., we might be able to answer the above question.

Article 12 prescribes that the members of the I.O.C. "are representatives of the I.O.C. in their countries and not delegates to the I.O.C.". Thus, they ask from the I.O.C. members that they disassociate themselves from their country's social life and devote themselves to the cosmopolitan ideology of the Olympic Movement.

Many authors, (Kidd 1979, Pound 1981, Siperco 1981) following Pierre de Coubertin's ideological lines, hold that sport and sport organizations should be autonomous (free agents); meaning that they should be independent from any political or governmental influence, so that, it/they can avoid exploitation by any particular class of people or private interests. Castro (1984:4) suggests that the problem of the autonomy of sport from politics, governments and classes or ideologies, should be looked at from the position of the ideological class struggle between the "haves and the have nots". The "haves" prefer the maintanance of the autonomy of sport from government but the "have nots" want governmental state and popular control of all athletic facilities, thus they strive to affirm their right of free access to sport and recreation.

Lukacs (1976:203) explained the theoretical aspects of "autonomous" and/or "independent", from a Marxist point of view. He suggested according to dialectic, and contrary to bourgeois thought, that autonomous subcultures and subsystems or social units, (i.e., the I.O.C.) as well as other aspects of the social being are just a part of a comprehensive whole. "Independance" he continues "is the intellectual and conceptual expression of the objective social structure of capitalists society". However, the independance of the special systems is not always preserved, if they were to be considered as a "rightly understood totality". Indeed, in capitalism, all elements of the structure of society interact dialectically. The claim of their independence from each other, meaning their way of concentrating themselves into self regulated systems, the "fetishistic semblance of autonomy", are all an essential aspect of bourgeois ethics and values.[38] Contrary to the Parsonian model, Marxism rejects the concept of independence (and isolation) and promotes the concept of interdependence instead, to which belongs the concept of "the totality of the socioeconomic structure of society". (Ibid:209)

Benson (1984:92) stated that "the struggle for autonomy is a struggle for power and control over others". For him it is a struggle of the individual against society. Power and control in the I.O.C. is exerted by individuals who belong to the capitalist class (managers included) and who want to protect the interests of free agency and enterprise in sports, thus promoting commercialism. [39]

Even Pierre de Coubertin had periodically supported government (national) control of elite and mass sport and his organization's role in administering the Olympic Games. He agreed to a certain extent that government assistance to sport and athletics was an indispensable measure to promote sport and recreation for the masses. However, as Coubertin wanted to control elite sport, government was free to involve itself in the administration of mass sport; but participation in the Olympic Games would have to be controlled by Coubertin's closed club of aristocrats.

Heitanen (1984:107) argued that "state involvement in sport becomes everyday bigger. The state should undertake the reform of international sporting contact by taking it from the hands of irresponsible citizens, individuals, marque and conte." He sees the state as the absolute rational power, which supposedly represents the interests of all citizens independently of the prevailing socio-political and economic system of relations. Ivanov (1982) believed that the government's current role in sport increased because it is one of the fundamental social services of men/women in both the developed and the developing world.[49]

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[38] Dr. Chellandurai, during the 1986 Sport Administration Conference in Edmonton, Canada, very clearly illustrated how the 'parsonian' model of organizational analysis tends to keep isolated the different subsystems operating within the larger organization. The autonomy and isolation of the subsystems is the main problem of the 'Parsonian' model, because it does not allow interdependence and an explanation for the aspects of intergration within the organization. Additionally, power and control issues within the organization seem to rise when the subsystems are functioning autonomous from their environment.

[39] Analysis of power and control will be dealt with in a separate section in this chapter.

Therefore, there is an axiom in sports. No serious sport activity is possible without governmental assistance. Some tend to overlook or choose to neglect this fact, because of their detachment from sport. The era of small-time sport, the sport of aristocracy is gone. (Seppanen 1984:113)) Sport has become part of a social evolution and it is only too natural that it will in future remain under the influence of the powers which head this evolution.

Seppanen correctly indicates that the Olympic Movement is structured in terms of primary political units, the sovereign states; (Ibid:116) the N.O.C. are organized by state boundaries. Also the athlete is a representative of a country equal to a sovereign state. Despite P. de Coubertin's predictions, which proposed that the Games should serve as a play ground for individual athletes from various countries no individual can enter the Games without being a member of a national team. In other words, the role of a national team and the nation-state unit as such is dominant over the role of an individual.

Therefore a big contradiction arises concerning membership affiliation on the I.O.C. Because, even though all units of the Olympic Movement, N.O.C's, I.S.F.'s and Athletes, are representatives of their nation-state units, the I.O.C. is directed by individuals representing I.O.C. to their countries. The above contradiction harms the relations between the I.O.C. and the national and international bodies of N.O.C.'s and I.S.F.'s alternatively. (Ibid:117)

But before we elaborate on the above contradiction and provide a proposal for its resolution we need to study the concepts of power and control in I.O.C.. Power and control forces in I.O.C. will provide us with the necessary background to defend the resolution of the above contradiction.

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[49] An example of government involvement in Olympic sport is the financial assistance and governmental subsides that the Organizing Committee of the 1988 Olympic Winter Games in Calgary receives. Almost more than 50% of the budget for the Games comes from governmental subsides, as it was argued at the . International Congress for the Mass Media and the Olympic Movement, which took place in Calgary, Alberta, in February 1987.

D. Power and Control in the I.O.C.

Marx noted that "the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle". (Marx 1976:108) The division of society into classes arose from historical causes. "It resulted from the division of labour and private ownership of the means of production" (Zdravomyslov 1986:72)

Lenin defines class as a "large group of people differing from each other by the place they occupy in a historically determined system of social production, by their role in the social organization of labour, the dimensions of the share of social wealth of which they dispose", and finally the mode of acquiring it. (Lenin 1960-:421) Therefore, he sets out four criteria for the assignment of people into different classes:

1. By their relations to the means of production of material wealth.
2. By their role in the social organization of labour.
3. According to the dimensions of their share of social wealth.
4. By the mode of acquiring their share.

Only, all four of these criteria taken together can provide a comprehensive definition of class and reveal the class position of society's members. [41] The class concept is very important if we want to understand the aspects of power and control in the I.O.C. The present author accepts and aligns his analysis on power and control with Dr. Riordan,[42] who said that if we want to understand the I.O.C. and its nature,we should study it using class as a fundamental concept. However,this will not be sufficient, because nationality and regional or politico-economical categorization of membership on the I.O.C. will also be necessary.

The Olympic Movement first appeared in an early class society and invariably reflected the structure and class distinctions of that society. The modern Olympic Movement was also a product of capitalism and colonialism. The international ideological class struggle was transformed into the Movement much later with the entranceof the socialist countries into the bourgeois Olympic Movement. Seppanen correctly stated that the Olympic-Movement "is an integral part of the international ideological class struggle. (Seppanen 1984:119)

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[41] Lenin does not divide classes into smaller groups, differing in status, prestige or professional skills. However, education, status, and affiliation with different societal groups can be the last resort for dividing the people into different classes.

[42] informal interview taken August 1986

International organizations, either governmental or nongovernmental, are a part of the international system of social and national relations. The class struggle is perpetuated throughout the area of international relations with all its particular features. During the periods of detente and peacefull coexistence among the different nations in the world, the class struggle is relatively smooth; meaning the avoidance of war. The result of the ideological class struggle today is so smooth that no winners or losers can be identified. The dominance and hegemonic power of one class over the other is not possible in the international arena.

The class struggle in the Olympic Movement has historical roots. From the beginning of the Movement working class people were excluded from participating in international sporting events, mainly because the international sporting organizations were controlled by the bourgeoisie. Riordan(1984), Broom(1976) and MacAlloon(1981) mentioned the discriminatory class distinctions in the Olympic Games citing, for examle, the incident when the Thames Rowers' club was denied entrance to the Olympic Games. All working class people were characterized as professionals and they were excluded from the Games. In the period between the two World Wars, 1920-40, the class struggle was very sharp. As a result of the class struggle the first communist state, the U.S.S.R.,was estsblished. Sport segregation was practiced by both the workers and the bourgeois and the Workers had their own Olympic Games as opposed to the I.O.C.'s ones.

However, developments during and after the second World War changed the content and the form of the Olympic Movement. The concepts of peaceful co-existence, sport cooperation and friendship brought many socialist and newly emerged third world countries into the I.O.C. Games.

Despite Edgstrom's and Brundage's initial opposition to the acceptance of communist nations into the bourgeois Olympic Movement, the socialist countries were asked to send their representatives to both the I.O.C. and the Games. In 1952, the first "worker" was accepted in the I.O.C. (Hoberman 1986,p.54) The year 1952 is established as the year when the ideological class struggle made its appearance in the I.O.C.

Since then the class struggle has affected the nature of the Olympic Games, both positively and negatively. Manifestatons of the international class struggle within the I.O.C. were, the debate for the acceptance of the socialist Germany into the Olympic family, the acceptance of Peoples Republic of China and the conflict with Taiwan, and the acceptance of Cuba and Peoples Republic of Korea in the I.O.C. and the Olympic Movement in general. Moreover, the relatively recent manifestations of the class stuggle were: the recognition of the Peoples Republic of Campuchea National Olympic Committee, the aspects of the commercialization of the games and the acceptance of professional athletes into the Olympic Games, the two major boycotts, the one in Moscow and the other in Los Angeles, as well as the current debate on the 1988 Summer Olympic Games in Korea Additionally the current problem of the simultaneous celebration of the Games in both South and North Korea. The solution of these conflicts have already and will affect both the Olympic Movement and the international sociopolitical and economical relations among the countries of the two blocks.

Thus, Inogemtsev's (1982) suggestion that every international issue, such as the Korean issue, affords a thorough analysis of the alliance of class forces and their distinct political interests can be seen as correct. The question of the alignment of class forces on the I.O.C. has been touched upon by Riordan(1984), Brohm(1978), Ponomariev (1980) and Koskinas(1982). Andrianov, also as quoted by Solakov, holds that the I.O.C. is divided into "castes", (Solakov 1976:23) but he does not further qualify his argument nor does he give any specific definition for "castes" in the I.O.C. Solakov (1974,p.29) suggests that no particular class" exists in the I.O.C. However, others, like Pound, believe that "revolutionary" sport organizations, like the I.O.C., stand beyond class and economic-political interests. (Pound,R. 1981)[43]

The present author adopts the analysis on power and control of Riordan,(1986) that is if we want to understand the I.O.C. and its nature, we should study it using "class" as a fundamental variable. However, this will not be sufficient, because nationality and regional or political-economical categorization of membership on the I.O.C. will also be necessary. In fact, when analysing the recent short biographies of the I.O.C. membership, we observe that the majority of the I.O.C. membership belongs to the capitalist class and very few of them classify themselves as non capitalists. [44] There are also individuals on the I.O.C. that can be classified as middle class in the strata of the "petit bourgeoisie" as Marx and Engels called it. These are the people who align their vote with the interests of either the capitalist or the working class of people depending upon their topical interests.

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[43] Speach in the 11th Congress in Baden-Baden, W.Germany.

Nevertheless, class analysis of the I.O.C. above, is insufficient forjudging completely power and control in the organization. A wholistic approach is needed. Koskinas in his early research on power and control in the I.O.C., analysed the I.O.C. membership both with economical and political criteria. His politico-economical categorization of the membership still holds valid and indicates that 82% of the membership belongs to the capitalist world and only 17% to the socialist one. (Koskinas, 1979) The only possible weakness of Koskinas's categorization is that he did not seriously examine the political and economical role of the Non-Aligned Countries movement and their nationals in the I.O.C.

The division of the world into capitalist and socialist realms today seems somewhat rigid. Marx, Engels, and Lenin did not live to observe the new politico-economical world developments. The Third World today is too influential to be left out of our analysis. Despite the fact that in the United Nations the Non-Aligned World votes 83% in favor of proposals put forward by socialist countries, it can still be considered as an independent source of power. Of course their influence in controlling international organizations is non existent, basically because of their harsh financial condition, a result of neocolonialism.

However, geographical representation of politico-economical groups of countries in the I.O.C., for assessing power and control, is very important too; meaning those countries from Europe, Asia, Africa, South and North America and Oceania, which form the basic regional categories. Figure 3 below suggests that Europe is overrepresented in the current I.O.C. The results were calculated from the 1985 list of biographies of the I.O.C. membership. The I.O.C. is obviously Eurocentric. There 193 nations in the whole world today of which 36 belong to Europe which is 18% of the total number, 54 are African nations, the most, with 29% of the total, 46 belong to Asia meaning the 24%, 11 countries belong to what we call Oceania conscisting the 5,5%, and finally America (South and North) with 46 nations and 24% also.However, despite the above measures, there exists a serious descrepancy when we examine regional representation in the I.O.C.

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[44] Meaning teachers, civil servants, etc.

Figure 3 **GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF I.O.C. MEMBERSHIP**

EUROPE	ASIA	AFRICA	AMERICA	OCEANIA	TOTAL
42%	15%	19%	20%	4%	100%

In the I.O.C. though, Europe controls almost 42% of the I.O.C. seats even though other continents have more countries within their area. This discrimination is a result of thecooptative selection system in the I.O.C., which does not have any provisions for the fair representation of the African and Asian countries in particular, which are the most disadvantaged.

E. Selection System of the I.O.C.

Power and control is maintained on the I.O.C. by the imperialist -capitalist countries, through the rules regulating the selection of membership process. (Solakov 1976) For the selection process the principle of co-optation is used on the I.O.C. Defending the principle of cooptation, Comte de Beaumont, one of the older members of the I.O.C., an aristocrat, stated that this principle is the best one for selecting the membership, because it provides independence from political powers, other sport bodies and capital. He goes even further to suggest that the few organizations, which have had some success were the ones that followed the principle of cooptation. (Keller 1976) [43] Coubertin, when making the laws governing the I.O.C. rejected the principle of democratic elections for the idea of membership by cooptation. (Solakov 1976)

However, there are many authors, both from eastern and western countries, who object to Conte Beaumont's assumptions about the selection process in the I.O.C. Ivanov (1982:80) says that the principle of self-recruitment followed by the I.O.C. has been outdated. He also suggests that one of I.O.C. major problems is the fact that the organization is lacking a serious justification that would legitimize the principle of self-recruitment. He also maintains that the claim of the inclusion of representatives of all N.O.C., and I.S.F.'s would make the body unruly and would paralyze it by giving major decisions no weight. (Ibid:81)

Solakov (1974:50) criticized the election system of the I.O.C. and suggested that the principle of cooptation is rooted in the spirit of small time sport and politics of the 19th century, when the masses of people were still under the boots of the strong coalition of bourgeoisie and aristocracy. He also contends that "if the I.O.C. wants to maintain its authority it should be tranformed from a closed self-elected and perpetuated body into a truly representative and democratic authority.

The idealistic belief of the independence of the I.O.C. members from politics, commercialism and nationalism is not a serious one. Because, there is no man in the world who is without a homeland, politico-economical and or national affiliation, and can be worthy of respect. The suggested cosmopolitanism of Comte de Beaumont is a feudal and colonialist/imperialist concept for the easier exploitation of the weak nations of the world, whether this is in sport or economics.

Ivanov suggested that "comprehensive criteria" concerning the I.O.C.'s composition are lacking:" at the present there are no principles or regulations which could specify the I.O.C.'s composition". (Ivanov 1982:140) This is the reason why the main purpose of this chapter has been to discuss some of the existing internationally-accepted systems of selection processes. In the concluding statements to be found in the last chapter, the most suitable selection system for the I.O.C. will be sought in order to provide a practical solution to this problem. Meanwhile, and for the purposes of this chapter, the fundamental analysis of the election process will continue. Solakov (1974:52) argued against the cooptation principle of the I.O.C.; and contends that "the system of financially independent people" might contribute to the great dynamics of the existing I.O.C. But today, as sport has become a state affair in most of the countries on our globe, be it capitalist, socialist or Non-Aligned, and when voluntary and non-voluntary atletic organizations have become financially strong, like the I.O.C., they can support professional administrations as well. Aristocrats, company directors and chairmen, industrialists and bankers may not be needed in the modern I.O.C. in the future. It is not their money or their aristoctatic passion for sport that keep the Olympic Games and Olympism deeply rooted in the fundamental humanitarian needs of contemporary men and women. (Seppanen 1984:116)

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[43] Speach at the 10th Olympic Congress in Varna, Bulgaria. Lausane: I.O.C. (1976)

The I.O.C. and the Olympic Charter fail to take a position on the principle of equality. When the I.O.C. was formed, capitalism was dominant, and the principle of equality meant the abolition of the privileges for the nobility and the equality of all citizens before constitutional law. [46] However, the current composition of the I.O.C.'s membership fails to follow the above trend.

According to the Olympic Charter's rules and regulations, equality is guaranteed among participants in the Games. However, the principle of equality has been violated and has never been applied to the structural elements of the Olympic Movement. The Olympic Charter does not define the position of the N.O.Cs, the I.S.Fs and other component parts of Olympism according to the principle of equality. Representatives of N.O.Cs, I.S.Fs, athletes, umpires, and judges were never included in the executive body of the Olympic Movement. [47] This situation increases conflict and misunderstanding between the N.O.Cs, the I.S.Fs and the I.O.C.. The experience of a large number of international organizations not only fails to disprove, but asserts even more strongly, the indispensable advantages of the principle of equality and its reflection on the activization of the international organizations. (Ivanov 1982)

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[46] See discussion on equality in Dictionary of Philosophy 1984:128.

[47] Though, we should also note the establishment of the Tripartite Committee, which is an ad-hoc body conveined every time from the president of the I.O.C., in which the A.N.O.Cs, the I.S.Fs and representatives from the I.O.C. meet to examine the problematic situations developing in the Olympics.

Equality in the World Olympic Movement presupposes the recognition of the sovereignty of national sport organizations. "All states are legally equal to enjoy similar rights and duties as members of the international community regardless of their economic, social and political system". (Dictionary of International Law 1986:225) But bourgeois sports organizations, like the I.O.C., deny the principle of equality of their national organizations.

Thus it will be necessary for the I.O.C. to define clearly its attitude toward the fundamental requirements of the principle of equality by:

1. Encouraging the establishment of equal status for sports organizations and their members on a regional and national level;
2. The recognition of the right for equal participation by the National Sport Federations in the work of I.S.Fs;
3. Most importantly, drastic measures are required for the abolition of all manifestations of political, class, religious, racial and all other kind of discrimination.

Another aspect of the selection process of the I.O.C.'s membership is the artificial limitation of the number of I.O.C. members. In Figure 4 in the next page we see that before 1944 the members of I.O.C. members were more than the number of N.O.C.'s. Today the number of I.O.C. members is almost half that of the total N.O.C's membership. This fact may be interpreted as an aspect of stagnation and negation on the part of the I.O.C., related negatively to the principle of universality, concerning reformation of its membership structure. It is obvious that the I.O.C. is not following the requirements of the times. Its inability to increase its membership shows that the organization loses in popularity, at least in the minds and the souls of the less represented on it. Also, in the second level of comparison, that between the number of nationalities in the I.O.C. and the existing number of the N.O.Cs, is illustrated another contradiction. Out of the hundred and sixty one N.O.Cs only seventy eight have somebody to represent them in the executive body of the I.O.C. However, contrary to the present statistics, between 1894 and approximetely 1924 the number of nationalities in the I.O.C. were outnumbering the number of actual I.O.C. members. The above two important observations and their comparative study allows us to state that the I.O.C. was perhaps, either consciously or unconsciously, following the principle one nation - one vote or representative at that early time. [41]

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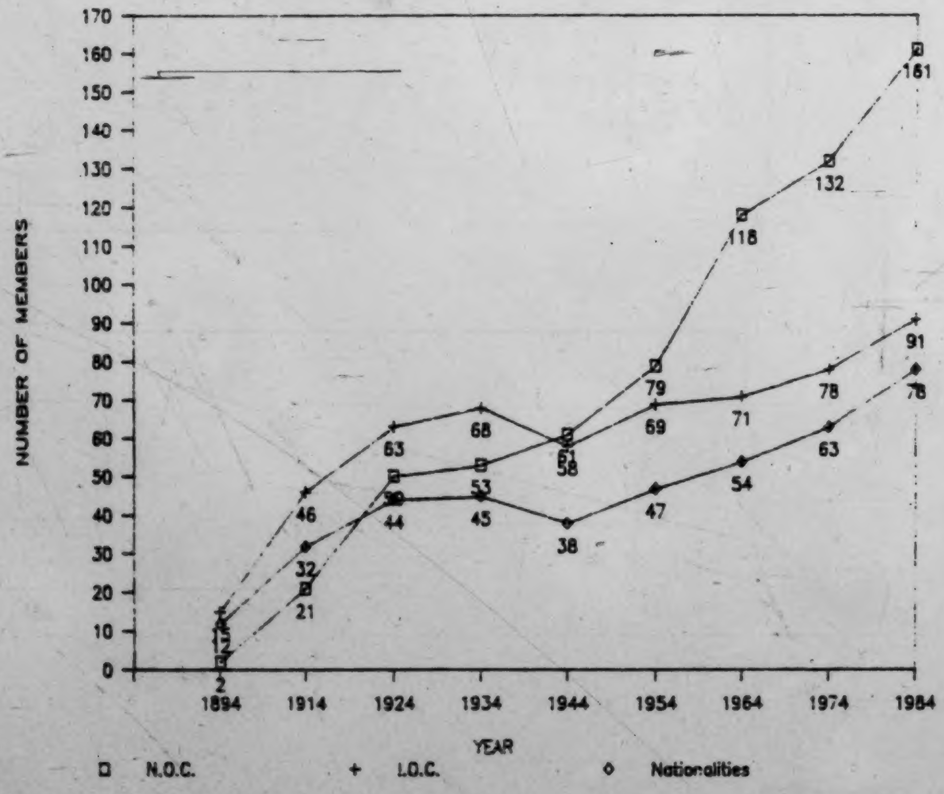
[41] Data was adapted and analysed from Solakov's (1976) work on the history of the N.O.Cs' representation in the I.O.C. (See pp.41-43)

Figure 4

A COMPARISON OF THE NUMBER OF I.O.C. MEMBERS AND NUMBER OF NATIONALITIES

YEAR	1894	1914	1924	1934	1944	1954	1964	1974	1984
NUMBER OF NATIONALITIES IN THE I.O.C.	12	32	44	45	38	47	54	63	78
NUMBER OF N.O.C.s	2	21	50	53	61	79	118	132	161

YEAR	1894	1914	1924	1934	1944	(1951)	1954	1964	1974	1984
NUMBER OF I.O.C. MEMBERS	15	46	63	68	58	(67)	69	71	78	91
NUMBER OF N.O.C.s	2	21	50	53	61	(75)	79	118	132	162



Olympic officials possibly argue that representation on the I.O.C. by either the N.O.C. and their representatives or any individual, should not be considered a privilege. As it was illustrated in the figure No. 4, the principle of universality of membership was implemented in the I.O.C. since its early start. The Olympic Rules contained the provision that the I.O.C. should co-opt a minimum of three members from each country. According to Solakov (1976) this article existed in the Olympic Chapter for a long period. P. de Coubertin also took it for granted that at least one member should be recruited from each country which had a recognized N.O.C.. Why has the criteria for the selection of membership changed since then? What was the justifications for the above mentioned serious change?

The contemporary Olympic Charter classifies nations and their respected N.O.Cs, according to the magnitude of their contributions to the Movement, either as a big or a small one. But this is obviously not enough. Do they mean athletically big or in terms of population and financial prowess? What are the criteria for the above classification? Because in contemporary international sports there are no big and small countries. Spain, India and Australia have two members in the I.O.C. but East Germany and Cuba have only one. Is it because of their population or perhaps because of their political position in the international political map?

Contrary to I.O.C.'s policy for the selection of its membership, the I.S.Fs and the General Assembly of N.O.Cs follows the principle of universality as opposed to this of selectivity. The priciple of universality is equal to the one-country one-vote system, as practiced by many international organizations with U.N. as the first one. [4]

There are certainly many benefits to be gained if the I.O.C. decides to reform its recruitment policy and adopt the one N.O.C.-one representative principle. The benefits will likely be as listed:

1. It will strengthen its relations with the National Olympic Committees and will raise further their role in the promotion of the Olympic Movement in their respective countries;
2. The I.O.C. will receive direct data as regular feedback on the state and status of the Olympic Committee in each country;

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[4] Critique of U.N.'s policy on the equality principle will be provided in the folowing chapter.

3. It will accurately reflect the real need of the N.O.C. concerning the I.O.C.'s Olympic Solidarity Program; and
4. The I.O.C.'s relation with the National Olympic Committees would be most prosperous contributing to the principles of friendship, brotherhood, and mutual cooperation, among the administrators of the Olympic Movement.

The above list could be considered as an effort, which may lead our research toward a topical judgement for the problem of the democratization of th I.O.C.

F. Conclusion

The dialectical analysis of the organization shows that the I.O.C. still operates under feudalist concepts, like the concept of cooptation, despite its almost centennial existeance through a capitalist epoch. The aristocratic elitist nature of the I.O.C. is outlined in its interpretation of the principle of equality. The historical politico-economical changes occurred during the 93 years of I.O.C. did not change its attitude towards the principle of cooptation, which is used for the selection of its membership.

The criteria/standards for the selection of the members of the I.O.C. are simply lacking, a fact which jeopardizes further the whole Olympic Movement. Its negative consequences affect the authoritarian nature of the I.O.C., which is maintained through its policy of 'autonomy', particularly from governments. Despite the international trend of the replacement of international non-govermental organizations by governmental ones and the even greater involvement of the nation states in national and international sport, the I.O.C. still struggles for autonomy, a hostile attitude to the nation-states and their right to represent the interests of their people. [50] This 'autonomy' brings the I.O.C. in contradiction to the overall structure of the Olympic Movement, which units are modelled according to variable national entities.

The ideology of the capitalist world system is still dominant in the I.O.C., controlling and distributing power and control over the functions of the organization. However, the international class struggle, which has a long history and has affected the

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[50] Of course it would be naive if we tried to use the categories of nation-state as being neutral categories, because each goverment represents the interests of a particular class of people.

Olympic Games since the 1920s - 1940s with the parallel celebration of the Workers Olympiads, has increased in the contemporary Movement. The resent boycotts and pull-outs by the two athletic giants in international sport, the socialist and capitalist group of nations, is a manifestation of the international class struggle in Olympic sport. The problem of the democratization of the I.O.C. can be resolved if the I.O.C. reforms its policy and adopts the principle of universality of membership, based on the one N.O.C.-one representative principle. However, it is evident, from our survey of the speaches made during the 11th Olympic Congress in Baden-Baden, that the I.O.C. is not in favour of such a resolution to the representation problem, precisely because of tis western-capitalist bias.

IV. CHAPTER FOUR: The United Nations - UNESCO basic ideologicaland structural principles and the UNESCO's involvement in international sport.

A. Introduction.

The United Nations (U.N.) is an International Organization with almost universal membership. It is an inter-governmental organization because its formation has been based on agreements between the governments of the member nation-states. Almost all nations of the world are affiliated in some way with the U.N.

By its nature, the U.N. is a central organization of an institutionalized system of international relations. The United Nations was formed in 1945 and its first inaugural session took place in San Franscisco, U.S.A. One of the reasons for its emergence was attributed partly to the social context and its evolutionary changes, the result of the victory of the anti-fascist axis and the emergence of socialism as a new international power. (Shkunayev 1985)

The study of the U.N. and its subsidiaries is very important when considering the problems of the democratization of the power and control in the Olympic Games Movement and the I.O.C. in particular. Some Olympic officials tend to view the U.N. and the I.O.C. as two polar opposites; one is a governmental, the other a non-governmental organization. The failures and successes of one are sometimes counterposed with the successes and the failures of the other (Lucas, 1985)[31]Brundage, a past president of the I.O.C., was the first to compare the I.O.C. with the U.N., when he stated that the I.O.C. and Olympic sports acheived what politics could not do, meaning to bring peace, friendship, brotherhood and unity to the people of the world.

Also, within the framework of this thesis, we would like to investigate if the U.N. can provide the necessary patterns to be followed concerning selection of members onto the I.O.C. and if the U.N. is a more "democratic"international organization, according to Castro (1984), rather than the I.O.C. For the purposes of this analysis it will be necessary to investigate the main goals, principles, and features of the U.N., as well as its structure, so that we may establish a basis to make comparisons between the U.N. and the I.O.C.

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[31] Personal corespondance; April, 1986.

B. Basic Principles of the U.N. and its Structure

Firstly, a summary of the main aims of the U.N. will be presented. This includes the aims of the:

1. Maintainance and consolidation of international peace and the security of the states.
2. The promotion of large scale cooperation in a multitude of areas in order to help preserve peace;
3. The harmonization of the actions of states;
4. The protection of succeeding generations from the scourge of war;
5. The creation an environment of peaceful co-existence among the nations of the world, according to the principles of tolerance and non-aggression;
6. Assistance for the facilitation of friendly relations among the people of the world, by following the principles of equality and sovereignity;
7. To work towards broader international cooperation;
8. To guarantee the integrity of national territory;
9. To respect the fundamental human rights of people;
10. To facilitate the establishment of conditions, under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law, can be maintained;
11. To promote social progress;
12. To apply millitary force, where needed, in order to resolve local disputes;
13. To achieve international cooperation by solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian nature;
14. To help promote a higher standard of living;and
15. To promote the principles of full employment;

The above are the general and specific mission statements of the organization. Some of its aims also allow the U.N. to intervene in the area of sport.

One of the main principles of the U.N. is to preserve the principle of the sovereign equality of its members. This statement is useful for the comparison with the I.O.C. However, the main task of the U.N. is to keep peace and to strengthen and defend the struggle against the arms race. (Arkhipov 1985:3)

It is justified to say that the role of the U.N. has expanded into areas which its founders could not have visualized in 1945. The world changes and U.N.'s aims and principles change too. In recent years "we have seen an expansion of the scope of U.N. activities and its increased involvement in a wide range of issues affecting the progress of human society" itself. (Modern Diplomacy of Capitalist Powers 1983:301 and Rajan 1982:195)

The aims of the U.N. are so general that certainly they overlap with the established jurisdiction of other international governmental or inter-governmental organizations (Ibid:204). With the establishment of the Economic and Social Council (ECSOC) and the United Nations Educational Social and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the U.N. shares its role of management of international social and cultural trends amongst other problematic areas. This is mainly so when the discussion is about international socio-educational and cultural problems, where individual national interests are easier to bridge, so that a collective package of interests can be achieved. Rajan (1982) rightly observes, that there exists a "persistently demonstative concensus among member nations, cutting across not only national barriers but also barriers of ideology", economic development, social mores and religious differences.

To achieve the above aims, the U.N. needs a structure which will effectively and without any bureaucratic stagnation, transmit theory into practice. It seems that in many aspects of its aims, the U.N. was not successful in implementing the above scopes, because of its politico-economical and class bias. However, despite the harsh critique, the recent 40th session of the U.N., which took place in the New York headquarters of the organization, was a great success (Arkhipov 1985) It broke all previous records for participation of its membership. The relevant success of the U.N. in fulfilling its main purpose which is the "disruption of the tragic cycle of world wars". (Modern Diplomacy and the Capitalist Powers 1983) For 41 years the world had not had the experience of a so devasting war as the two previous World Wars.

Also the U.N. has been proven as a very good forum "for the adoption of decisions acceptable to all states irrespective of their social system". (Arkhipov 1985:3) The structure that permitted the above positive developments in the modern history of the U.N. is quite complicated. Deficiencies appear in the U.N. when we consider the principle of universality. One hundred and sixty diverse views, equal to the number of the nation-states represented in the U.N., held by participating nations or even group of countries (socialist, non-aligned), complements the assessment of the overall balance of forces and thus does not allow the clarification of common views and sometimes makes the outcome of the U.N.'s sessions unpredicatable or untimely. Despite the above structural deficiencies of the U.N., its laws and its framework are accepted today as the international structure for any international organization.

The principle organs of the U.N. are: The General Assembly, The Security Council, The Trusteeship Council, The International Court of Justice, The Secretariat and, last but not least in importance, The Economic and Social Council. The Economic and Social Council (EC.SO.C.) is the most important organization for this study, as UNESCO is a member organization of the EC.SO.C. and is the U.N.'s organization for the promotion of sport and Olympic ideals.

The General Assembly (G.A.) is the supreme body of the U.N.O. (Chadwick 1969) All 160 member states are represented in the G.A. Representation is guaranteed to each member no matter how influential or inconsequential the states are. There are five official lanquages in the U.N.; These are: Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish.

The G.A., according to article 13 of the U.N. Charter, "shall initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of promoting international cooperation in social, cultural, educational and health fields". Therefore the aims of the G.A. include the area of international sporting activity, as both a cultural and a health factor in international life.

Voting procedures in the General Assembly follow the principle one state-one vote. All states are represented by their appointed governmental officials and they all have equal rights to speak and vote. Decisions in the General Assembly on important questions are determined by a two thirds majority of the members present and voting. These types of questions usually concern recommendations with respect to the maintainance of international peace and security, the election of the non-permanant members of the Security Council, the election of the members of the Economic and Security Council and the election of the members of the Trusteeship Council.[52] Decisions on other questions are made by the majority of the members present and voting in the G.A.

The Assembly is convened once every year. The Secretary General can call extraordinary or special sessions in emergency situations, such as security issues.

The administrative power of the General Assembly is entrusted to the president of the G.A., the vice-presidents and the chairmen of the main committees, who assist the president in the general conduct of the business of the Assembly. The Committees appointed by the Assembly are: the permanent committees, procedural committees, standing committees and ad-hoc committees. The members of the committees are appointed according to the competency and speciality of the members of the Assembly.

The General Assembly occupies a special position because of its control over the budget and the administrative aspects of the organization, and its role in determining the composition of the other organs (Mukherjee 1979:29-30). The power and prestige of the General Assembly has increased, as opposed to that of the Security Council which has come to a nil point. The "veto"power of the Security Council, which consists of only five permanent members, has destroyed the effectiveness of the U.N. as a peace force. However, and because of, the role of the socialist and Non-Aligned nations in the General Assembly, the Assembly has become a world parliament where social, cultural, educational and health problems are discussed. (Review of the United Nations Charter 1970:89). The above statement can be used as a partial, logical explanation of Castro's insistence to bring the question of the democratization and further development of international sporting activity into the General Assembly's Conferences; which can be also due to the distribution of power and control in the U.N.'s social praxis, as Benson calls the U.N.'s decision making and voting behavior.

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[52] See Mukherjee's work on U.N. (1979)

C. Power and Control in the U.N.

The first sentence on the U.N. Charter states: "We the people of the United Nations are determined......" The above statement indicates that the U.N. is an organization of almost all the people of our modern world, a unified organization, which function is to serve the interests of all people without any discrimination; but this is not the case. The international ideological and politico-economical class struggle of the opposing international systems, basically those of COMECON and NATO, alternatively does not permit the affirmation of the argument that the U.N. serves all the people of our planet independently of race, colour, political and economical position. The U.N. is also a class-based institution permeated by the class struggle. Marxism suggests that all "hitherto history is the history of the class struggle" which affects both the personal and the societal levels.

The League of Nations was the predecessor organization of the U.N. Within the League of Nations, which was established in 1919, there was no obvious class struggle, since the newly emerged Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics had not been accepted in it. But when the U.N.O. was shaped, in the 1945 San Franscisco General Conference, the Soviet Union became a permanent member of the U.N. The capitalist states of the time acknowleded its power and thus the class struggle started in the U.N.in a very evident way. (Morozov, 1968)

During the first years of the U.N.'s existence the capitalist powers and states controlled 35 out of 51 votes, thus having a majority (Arkhipov 1985) A U.S. document claims that from the "first days of the U.N.'s establishment the U.S.A. and its western allies" implemented the measures of a Cold War, to the socialist world.(Review of the U.N. Charter 1970) They were planning to form a western alliance "to strike world's socialism, before it becomes too powerful". China's admission to the U.N. and the struggle for the admission of socialist and third World countries was taking place almost every year during the Cold War era. President Herbert Hoover of the U.S.A. declared that (Ibid:79)

> the U.N. should be reorganized without Communist Nations in it. If that is impractical, then a definite New United Front should be organized of these people, who disavow communism, who stand for morals and religion and who love freedom;

and he continues:

> This is specifically not a proposed extension of a military alliance or any colour of it. It is a proposal based solely upon moral, spiritual and defence foundations. It is the defense system of the God-fearing free nations of the world. If the free nations join together they have many potent moral, spiritual and even economic weapons at their disposal. They would unlikely ever need such weapons. Such a phalanx of free nations would come nearer to awakening a workable relation with the other half of the two worlds than the U.S. can ever do alone. (ibid, p.79)

However, in 1954, the position of the U.S.A. had already changed from the Hoover and Truman Cold War era. At that time the U.S.A. changed its tactic in U.N. and partially accepted the principle of "approximate universality". (ibid, p.79) The new condition was a result of the position of the alliance of forces in the Worlds' political map. More socialist countries were established in Europe and Asia and the Cold War failed. Cuba, the first socialist country in America had already been established under the nose of United States capitalism. The balance of forces in the U.N. changed completely, particularly after the 1958-62 period, when the decolonization process had already matured.

The years of detente that followed World War II provided the socialist countries of the time the opportunity to develop both economically and socioculturally. The above situation was reflected in the U.N. and according to the anonymous book Modern Diplomacy and the Capitalist Powers (1983:285) "the U.N.O. became a democratic vehicle for taking international problems through the harmonization and conciliation of the differences of opinion" among the sovereiegn member nations of the U.N. The "imperialist powers have by now virtually lost their capacity to block the adoption by the General Assembly of resolutions supported by the socialist" and non-aligned Countries; thus the capitalist powers "were forced to the defensive". (Ibid:285) Morozov stated that the U.S.A. had already lost its leadership in this world organization (U.N.) and that the majority it once had is now against it. (Morozov 1968) Despite the fact that the western countries had lost their exclusive majority within the U.N. they still maintained a considerable influence, particularly in the economic and financial agencies of semi-independent bodies like the I.M.F. (International Monetary Found) and U.N.D.O. (United Nations Developmental Organization). (Shkunayev 1985)

Both the media and U.S. scientific intelligentzia in Social Science had increased the "propaganda to discredit the U.N.O." (Morozov 1985:181). The U.S.A., whose national mass media control over 70% of the international news exchange, and which is the leading capitalist country, "now attempts to picture the U.N. as an arena of meaningless disputes and as a tyranny of an irresponsible majority. Simultaneously it has increased pressure on all organizations in the U.N. system. The latest withdrawal from UNESCO and its threats at F.A.O., W.H.O. and other organizations" shows the above statement (Ibid:81)

The further isolation of U.S.A. in the United Nations is demonstrated by the following fact. In the assembly of the 40th General Assembly of the U.N. and in the final voting on 66 draft resolutions, the Soviet delegation supported 59 of them, abstained in four cases and in only three cases voted against them; compared to the Soviet's voting performance, that of the U.S.A.,was less positive as only 29 resolutions were voted upon favourably, 10 abstentions and 27 rejections included in this total. In some cases, the U.S.A., found itself in total isolation from the rest of the peace loving countries of the world (Arkhipov 1985:3) Also, during the 29th Session of U.N., 60 decisions were adopted related to peace and disarmanent, especially space and nuclear weapons. Only the U.S.A. and some of its allies voted against 26 of these resolutions and on ten "no", votes the U.S.A. was virtually isolated. (Ibid:3) Also the fact that U.S.A. and Britain withdrew from UNESCO indicates that the capitalist powers are not willing to sit in any organization where they have lost power and control.

Being incapable to largely control the organization the capitalist countries have aimed to distort or diminish the role and significance of these world bodies in either peace and disarmanent (U.N.) or in education and social services (UNESCO) (Modern Diplomacy and the Capitalist Powers 1983). The transnational corporations in news and media services have launched a massive propaganda campaign against the U.N. Arkhipov argues that the corporations and their patrons try to "downgrade, weaken and bypass it". He continues saying that what goes against "the grain of the West is that the situation in U.N. is changing under the impact of historical developments and their efforts to bring it into line with the principles of western diplomacy has failed." (Arkhipov 1985:3) The diplomacy of Western capitalist countries has always sought to use international organizations in their own interests and above all the most influential is the U.N. (Modern Diplomacy and The Capitalist Powers 1983:282)

If we look at the present composition of U.N. we observe that socialist (CMEA)[53] countries occupy 10% of the U.N. seats, an unchanged precentage since the very beginning of the U.N. While 17% of the seats belong to Western developed or developing countries which have a certain level of capitalist development. Only 18% belong to Latin American countries, and the remaing 55% belongs to the group of African and Asian countries, which have the majority, but which is insufficient for the adaptation of resolution of important matters. (Shkunayev 1985)

As a result the distribution of power in the U.N. favors the Non-Aligned group of countries, mainly meaning the countries of Africa-Asia and Latin America, the "south" as opposed to "north" as many call it, "where strength lies in the extensive use of its advantages in the form of a majority vote" and it is a rather dynamic force which in general take an anti-imperialist, anti-capitatlist stand (Ibid:1985)[54]

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[53] CMEA holds for Counsil of Mutual Economic Assistance.

[54] We mean power in the General Assembly of U.N.

According to the U.S. Department of State, the Non-Aligned nations "vote with Moscow" in 86% of the cases. Their positions coincide with that of the U.S.A. on fewer occasions than ever before; since 1983, in only 13% of the cases. (Arkhipov 1985:3) There is the Socialist (CMEA) and Non-Aligned nations in counteracting the policies of the imperialist-capitalist nations. Their cooperation is also observed in the consideration of major international problems at the U.N. such as the current international situation in the development of sports and physical education.

It is interesting to understand the aims and purposes of the Non-Aligned nations in the U.N.. According to Jackson (1982:9) the U.N. is "clearly the focal point for the non-aligned Movement" (N.A.M.) used as means to state "its welfare and existence". Therefore, the position of the N.A.M. has been strengthened in the U.N. The main aim of the N.A.M.states in the U.N. is to restructure and democratize the U.N. "Changes to the U.N.'s structure have been accomplished by and under the pressure from the N.A.M. and Third World majority in the U.N." (Ibid:146) All three amendments to the Charter of the U.N. concern the membership status of the U.N. countries and each one, as intended by the N.A.M., seeks to expand the membership in the principle organs of the U.N.; to accomodates new states and their desire for broader geographic and politicoe-conomical representation. According to Jackson (1982) the N.A.M.'s objectives for the future of U.N. are: to maintain and strengthen its international role to restructure and democratize its institutions (UNESCO included) and to maximize the non-aligned voting power. Also, last but not least important, the N.A.M. seeks to enforce the principle of universality in all bodies of the U.N., so that they can counteract neo-colonialism and racism.

D. U.N. - UNESCO and Olympic Sport

In this section we will examine the relations and involvement of U.N. and UNESCO with international sport and Olympic sport in particular.Parallelisms also will be drawn between the U.N.-UNESCO organizations and the Olympic system and the I.O.C. Oduyale (1982, p.738) suggests that the Olympics are a "United Nations of sports institution" and that the structural and ideological archetype of U.N. appears appropriate in order to reform and democratize the I.O.C. and the Olympic Movement as a whole. Castro, who is looking for a resolution for the structural inequalities in the I.O.C., he suggested that the U.N. should get involved in the Olympic Movement's affairs. (Castro 1985:3) But,before we discuss Castro's proposal we should investigate how far the U.N. has gone with its involvement in sports.

Heitanen (1984:107) argued that the "United Nations have overlooked sport and athletics. He adds that "there is no agency within the U.N. that deals with the development of sport".But this in not correct. The U.N. has almost directly been involved through its specialized agencies.

The Economic and Social Council (EC.SO.C.) has been established as a principle organ of the U.N. in order to initiate studies and reports with respect to international, social, cultural, educational, health and related matters. (Mukherjee 1979) The Assembly of the U.N. exercises its authority over the EC.SO.C. and over its affiliated, subsidary bodies, through its Economic and Financial Committee and its Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee, as well as appointing their leaders too. Except for the above functions, the EC.SO.C is supposed to call international conferences and prepare draft conventions for submission to the General Assembly within its competence. Also it coordinates activities of the specialized agencies; negotiates agreements with the specialized agencies defining their relationship with the U.N. and consults with non-governmental organizations in matters of common competence and interest. The specialized agencies of U.N. are separate, autonomous organizations related to the U.N. by special arrangements. These bodies have their own membership, own secretariats and their own budgets, but they are linked and highly dependant on U.N's decisions and fundamental principles. (Shkunayev 1985). UNESCO is structured according to U.N.'s fundamental laws concerning the principle of universality. Each member state (intergovernmental organization) has one vote. UNESCO is one of the specialized agencies of U.N. responsible for the promotion of educational social and cultural aspects.It has a general assembly, executive board and is divided into departments. One of these departments is responsible for the development of cultural activites of the people and states of the World and has established the Intergovernmental Committee for the promotion of physical education and sport at both national and international levels. Membership in this committee is free to the members of UNESCO; However Canada does not have a representative on the Intergovernmental Committee for Physical Education and Sport (ICPES).[35] The committee was formed in Paris in 1976 and received the status of a permanent agency at the UNESCO General Conference in October 1978. The active members of the ICPES are not more than 35, but its membership is much broader. Its jurisdiction includes both the national and the international levels of sport development.

Kivisto the president of Finland, as quoted by Ilmarinen (1984:10), stated in 1971 that UNESCO" and the ICPES "should be strongly supported" since it can provide a democratic control over matters of international sporting activity" (1984:4) One of the first resolutions of the ICPES, concerning international sporting competition, was a recommendation adopted at its 1st Conference in 1976 concerning the I.O.C. and its structure. It suggested that the I.O.C. should make its structure genuinely democratic in order to ensure fair representation of all the continents and their respective recognized nation-states. (UNESCO 1984)

UNESCO and its Committee have shown a keen interest in the development of sport nationally and internationally. One of the established aims of the Committee (ICPES) is:

> "to analyse the difficulties which increasingly beset the organization and the staging of international sporting competitions" throughout the world, and to study, "in cooperation with other international sporting organizations concerned, the principles on the basis on which these difficulties might be smoothed out by concerted, intergovernmental and non-governemental action". (Ilmarinen 1984:160)

Mr. Samaranch, the current President of the I.O.C., stated during a Meeting of the ICPES in 1981, that the I.O.C. is also prepared to cooperate closely with the ICPES, since both pursue the same objectives (UNESCO 1984)

UNESCO and its committtee (ICPES) have already taken the initiative to invite everyone to its general meetings: the I.O.C. the 6 representatives of the N.O.C.'s and I.S.F.'s and Sport Ministers and minor officials of the states. UNESCO, discussed in detail the propagation of the Olympic ideals through the education system of its member countries and it urged the celebration of the Olympic Day in schools. It also agreed to collect and publish materials for the propagation of the Olympic ideals, and to attend meetings of the International Olympic Academy (I.O.A.). Furthermore, is prepared to organize seminars, workshops and symposiums to increase awareness about its policies and their relationship to the Olympic ideals. Athletes were also invited to write about and exchange ideas relevant to the implemention of the right ethical standards and morals necessery for athletic performance and how it could affect their lives.

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[35] See in the appendix letter related to Canada's participation to the ICPES.

UNESCO is concerned also with the democratization of sport and particualarly this of I.O.C. and it is always a subject for discusion on the ICPES. It was extensivelly discussed in the fourth session of the ICPES in 1982. The delegates in the session resolved that the structure of the I.O.C. was not compatible with the international principle of universality. The move for the resolution was prepared by the Non-Aligned nations' representatives in the ICPES, which had been already adopted in the Meeting of the Ministers for Youth and Sports of the Non-Aligned nations in Tripoli, Libya in 1982. In the fifth session of the ICPES, the director-general of UNESCO Mr Matar M'Bow following instructions of the 4th Session of ICPES, met with Mr. Samaranch, the President of I.O.C., to discuss the problem of third world countries amd discrimination in the I.O.C. (UNESCO 1984:21) They both agreed that UNESCO should respect the *traditional autonomy* of the I.O.C. and its regulation concerning the selection process for membership. Therefore, the pressure from UNESCO to the I.O.C., concerning the restructure of its selection of membership regulations, definitely failed. However, despite the above unsuccessful incident, cooperation between the I.O.C. and UNESCO was not interrupted. On the contrary there are now regular meetings between the I.O.C. and UNESCO. In March of 1981 Mr. Samaranch held meetings at the headquarters of UNESCO in Paris with the Director General of UNESCO after the Moscow boycott and the capitalist attack against the Olympic Movement. (Riordan 1984:5) The I.O.C. now realizes the importance of governmental support in the management of Olympic sports and ideals. UNESCO gives financial support to non-governmental international organizations, and this was one of the reasons for the I.O.C. president's visit to UNESCO headquarters.

Many I.O.C. members disagreed with any kind of I.O.C. cooperation with UNESCO. There was much anxiety, apprehension and even certain measure of panic between I.O.C. members, when they learned of the establishment of the ICPES. This can be partly be explained by the lack of legislation regulating the authority of each international organization involved in international sports; and partly because of the establishment of the first intergovernmental international athletic body; the first democratic example of international organization for the management of sporting activity. Government involvement means usually popular control in the international bodies, if we adhere to its elective nature. This elective nature is something that the neo-feudalist and capitalist I.O.C. apprehends, by being already preocuppied with the commercialization of the Games and its Olympic Ideals, as in the case of the selling of the Olympic Torch Relay. (Georgopoulos 1984)

Recently, the Director-General of UNESCO met with Mr. Samaranch and they signed a memorandum which does not contain any measure for the resolution of the problem of democratization of the I.O.C. and its opening to universal representation of all the N.O.Cs. Many reactions followed the signing of the memorandum, which was characterized as a *coup d'etat* by the representatives of Non-Aligned nations in the ICPES and UNESCO. It is obvious that the Director-General of UNESCO overlooked the resolutions and directions of the Non-Aligned nations majority in the ICPES and UNESCO.(UNESCO 1984,p.7)

Nowadays the Non-Aligned nations exert pressure for the convention of a general conference for the discussion of the future of international sporting activities and the Olympic Games in particular. The proposal for world convention is not unique. Beginning in the early 1970's the U.N. and UNESCO have organized many world conferences dealing with economical, political and social problems. The typical pattern for each conference is to select a single topic for attention, set a time period and meeting place for the conference, and arrange for the preparatory work by existing or specially created committees. The committee is responsible for setting the conditions initially accepted by all participants in the conference. (Bennett 1984:293). The specific conditions for talks in the conference concerning the Olympic Movement should be: according to the Non-Aligned countries:

1. That the Olympic Games are the common property of the whole of humanity, its culture and its civilization, and that they should be directed by the most representative popular bodies of the nations of the world. This first condition argues the opening of the I.O.C. to the principle of universality for the acceptance of the legal representatives of the sportsmen of all countries, meaning their respective N.O.C.s;
2. That the only partners dealing with the I.O.C. will be the N.O.C recognized by the I.O.C;
3. That the I.O.C. should have the sole responsibility to award the hosting of the Games on the basis of geographical consideration, determined independently from any political or socio-economical potentialities on the part of the concerned state;
4. That the government of the country in which the Games are to be held will guaranteed all the necessary facilities and will be the organizers of the Olympic Games. It will also facilitate the entry into that country of all participants, national delegates, officials, judges, and technical personel.

Therefore as we described in this section we observe an ever increasing involvement of government in the management of international sporting acivity. Their involvement is initiated through organs that they control, like the U.N. and UNESCO. The governments of the Non-Aligned nations in particular believe that the U.N. and UNESCO should more systematically intervene to resolve problems of democratization and representation of third world countries in the feudal-capitalist I.O.C. They propose that the U.N. and UNESCO should push for the convention of an international conference in which should participate all international and national governmental and non-governmental organizations involved in the management of international and national sports should participate. The proposal seems logical if we consider the lack of international sporting contact and activity. But the historical time and the degree of the development of international sport as well as the situation in the international political horizon does not allow optimistic judgements for the success of such a conference.

E. Conclusion

In this chapter we investigated the involvement of U.N. and UNESCO in the managment of international sporting activity in general and the Olympic Movement in particular. We resolved that the U.N.'s aims and principles overlap with those of the Olympic Movement. Therefore, an attempt by the U.N. and UNESCO to intervene in the affairs of the Olympic Movement can be characterized as quite legitimate. Our opinion is based on the fact, that the memorandum signed by the Secretary General of UNESCO and the President of the I.O.C. Mr. Samaranch, only illustrates the willingness of both parts to firmly coordinate their efforts for the right management of international sporting activity.

However, the main aims of the Non-Aligned nations, in both the I.O.C and the U.N.-UNESCO, is their further democratization. Castro's proposal, to have the U.N. exert some kind of control over the I.O.C.'s activities, seems overall a justified activity from a governmental point of view. The General Assembly of U.N., contrary to the I.O.C., can be considered as a world's parliament, certainly possessing a more democratic basis than the I.O.C., with its universal membership. On the other hand, the U.N. and its General Assembly is also a class-based institution, where the anti-imperialist coalition of the Non-Aligned and socialist nations seem to hold control fact that the capitalist world does not appreciate in any case. Thus undertaking efforts to bring a conference on Olympic Sport in the General Assembly of the U.N. will definitelly receive a hostile salutation from the minority capitalist group of nations in U.N. The capitalist world, when dealing with problems of the Olympic Movement, rests quite assured for its position, since it controls the I.O.C. and its decisions.

V. CHAPTER FIVE: United Nations - I.O.C.: A Comparative Analysis of their Basic Democratic Principles

A. Introduction.

This section compares the differences and similarities of the U.N. and the I.O.C. in order to reveal the extent of their possible cooperation in the field of sport as well as to set the criteria for the ideological and structural prerequisities for the democratization of international relations.

We must start our comparison of the two organizations because of their basic difference; That is; the U.N. and UNESCO, its specialized agency which responsible for the promotion of sport and physical education, are international governmental bodies, but on the other hand, the I.O.C. is an international non-governmental body. A secondary reason, on the one hand, is the I.O.C's dominance and control over the administration of international Olympic activity, which has been repeatedly challanged by a number of authors; (Riordan 1984, Brohm 1979, Edwards 1984, Koskinas 1982, Castro 1984 et al.) and on the other hand because of the U.N. and UNESCO, which are the only international organizations that have a considerable degree of involvement into the Olympic Movement, without ever being under its influence in any way. There is of course interorganizational cooperation but in a very limited field; that of the celebration of the Olympic Day by all members of UNESCO (I.C.P.E.S.) and the development of the Olympics Solidarity programs. However, before we can start an extensive analysis of the U.N.'s and I.O.C.'s similarities and differences we need to show the historical background, the general trends and material forces that assist in the development of international organizations in general.

International organizations are the products of, on the one hand, the capitalist or the socialist mode of production and on the other, the result of industrialization led by the scientific and technological revolution. The first intergovernmental organizations dealt with problems of communication and transportation. The first international non-governmental organization (I.N.G.O.) was formed by the church. The Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) was the first I.N.G.O. with its representatives (missionaries) in 9 countries. (Cromwell 1968:6) The church functioned as an ideological "colonialist" by transfusing capitalist values and models in the underdeveloped countries and people of the world. However, the church, whose power was based on land ownership (feudal mode of production) in most of the developed countries, was the only countervailing power to the state. (Lador-lederer 1963:60). Similarly today the I.O.C. wants to protect its autonomy from any governmental or state influence. But for Lador-lederer (Ibid:6) the international non-govermental organizations have been extensively used by the bourgeoisie. For him the I.N.G.O.'s movement started as a "compensation for the frustrated political desires of various bourgeoisie groupings.... it often carries features of messianism of various orientations". Was, therefore Coubertin a messiah? Did Coubertin's intervention in establishing the Olympic Games save it from the state exploitation? It probably did save it, not from state exploitation, but from state intervention. This state intervention is what many authors demand today for the further development and change of the Olympic Movement, as a basic pre-requisite for its democratization. (Koskinas 1982, Athletismos 1985, Castro 1985 ,Riordan 1984, Edwards 1984, Solakov 1976, Ponomariov 1980 et.al)

A very important trend, developed through most of the one and one half century history of international organizations, shows that the international non-governmental organizations (I.N.G.O.) basically served as the fathers of the international governmental organizations (I.G.O.) in many occasions. Cromwell (1968:245) explained that "the I.N.G.O.s have performed the function of a precursor" for the I.G.Os while at other times it has been their initiative that has spurred an official action to create an intergovernmental body. For example, the International Bureau of Education, the Institute of Refrigeration, the International Sugar Office, the International Tin office all evolved from international non-governmental organizations, while the International Union for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works, the International Relief Union, the International Institute of Agriculture, are all examples of inter-governmental bodies whose establishment was due to the demand of private groups (like the I.O.C.). But the I.O.C. never demanded any governmental input in the Olympic Games, at least not in its administrative aspects. Even the acceptance of some socialist state functionaries, who were state employees whose employ was in the administration of sport, in the I.O.C. caused concern. Despite the I.O.C.'s objections and prejudice, other international non-governmental organizations, through their leaders, demanded the transformation of their international non-governmental body to a governmental one. Cromwell (1968) tells us that in 1925 the Rousseau Institute in Geneva, Switzerland, "founded the Private Institute of Educational Sciences, which in 1929 was composed of about four hundred dues-paying members" as well as some national organizations. It was mainly a mixed international organization, where private interests and state interests were represented.

This organization had remarkable success according to the 1936 Annual Report of the Rockfeller Foundation. On July 25, 1929 it became the Intergovernmental Bureau of Education. While it was so successful in its operation its president Mr. Pedro Rossello, who later became Assistant Director of the Bureau felt that it would be desirable to transform this I.N.G.O. into a governmental organ. Simillarly, today the I.O.C. enjoys tremendous success; is Mr. Samaranch, the president of the I.O.C., therefore, willing to recognize that the I.O.C. should become a governmental body? The answer to the above question can not be reached according to the scope of this thesis. [56]

However, the reasons that Rossello thought necessary for the transformation of his organization to a govermental body, as well as, our own rationalization suggest that the I.O.C. should become a governmental body:

1. Because a private organization can duplicate the work of other International Federations and its activities are not scheduled according to a universal system of athletic-sport happenings;
2. Because it would be able to secure more adequate financial support;
3. Because it would more likely reflect the national and international trends for the development of sport, since it has a bigger and more developed administrative network, which would reduce managerial expenses;
4. Because it might guarantee mass popular control.

We should also mention that all changes of non-governmental international organizations into governmental ones were arranged through general open conferences; whereas the old non-governmental organizations would invite all the persons or national bodies responsible for the subject of the organizations activity (Ibid:246). Therefore, Castro's proposal to the U.N. and the I.O.C. for the convergence of an International Conference to discuss the problems of the future of the Olympic Movement will be worthy of examination at its face value.

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[56] To answer such a crucial question an interview would be required from Mr. Samaranch, thing outside of the scope of the present study.

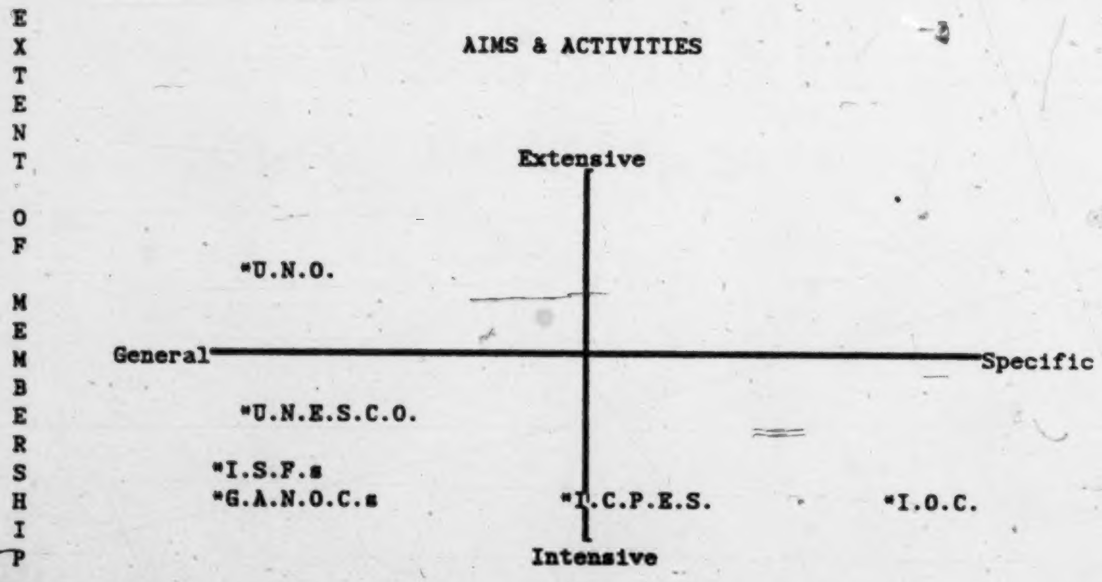
This short overview of the emergence, development and change of the international non-governmental and governmental organization will allow us to concentrate on the comparative analysis of U.N. and I.O.C. in an effort to assess their differences and similarities. This will eventually serve as our logico-theoretical arguments in the next chapter where we will critically review and analyse Castro's proposal for the U.N.'s involvement into the Olympic Movement.

B. On Differences

Bennett, (1984:66-67) in his study of the structure of international organizations, examined how "institutions differentiate, whether they are more or less egalitarian ....; and the degree of independence" of these institutions from governments, as well as the balance between the governmental and the non-governmental elements of the institution.

To achieve the above, he classified international organizations into two categories; a) through their aims and activities, and b) through their type of membership. His cross-classification shows in the Figure 5 that:

Figure 5 A CROSS CLASSIFICATION OF U.N.O. AND I.O.C.



(cont'd) the U.N. is located on a diametrically opposite pole of the chart, when considering its extensive aims, activities and membership, correlated negativelly to that of the I.O.C., whose membership is not universal and whose aims and acivities are subject-oriented. However, UNESCO and its subcommittee for the development of Physical Education and Sport has an extensive membership, but their aims and activities are also very specific. All other international organizations of sport have almost universal membership and have almost the same aims as the I.O.C.. This is the fundamental differnce between the I.O.C. and the I.C.P.E.S. (UNESCO) as well as between the I.O.C. and the international bodies of the General Assembly of National Olympic Committee (G.A.N.O.C.) on the one hand and the International Sport Federations on the other.

The vast difference between membership in the I.O.C. and the other international sport organizations is due to:

1. the rules regulating the admission of members andthe recruitment of new members;
2. the ideology of the dominant force controlling the organizations.

First, the I.O.C. does not accept individuals who represent their country and second it has a weighed membership. That means that one country can have more than one member on the I.O.C. according to its contribution to the Olympic Movement. Contrary to the I.O.C's rules, all other international sport organizations beging with UNESCO, recruit members according to the principles of one vote-one country, universality of membership, and the principle of sovereignity of each country-member, independent of their contribution to the financial aspects of the organization.

Drastic changes occurred in both the U.N. (UNESCO) and the I.O.C. in the 1950's and 60's over the principle of universality of membership. But in the U.N. (UNESCO) that was resolved to include almost every nation in the world, whereas the I.O.C. remained a closed organization without universal membership.

The U.N. in the 1950's was dominated by capitalist and a debate was unravelling on the subject of the openess of the organization to accept the newly emerged socialist and developing nations. [37] This question was a matter of one-sided politics, meaning the politics of the western powers dominating both the U.N. and the I.O.C. at the time.

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[37] Soviet Union's role in the U.N. was critical concerning the oppeness of the organization to the rest of the socialist and third world countries.

Some authors, Samaranch and the editors of the Olympic Charter, hold that the I.O.C. unlike the U.N., is not influenced by politics, because sport is apolitical and also because the I.O.C. members do not represent their respective countries in it. However, this is not true, if we observe the problems of the newly emerged nations in both the U.N. and the I.O.C.. If the U.N. is clearly a political body, then the I.O.C is too. Political questions in the Olympic Movement over the admittance of the Peoples Republic of China, the Peoples Republic of Vietnam, of Cambochia, of the Soviet Union, and the problems of recognition of the two Germanies, two Chinas and two Koreas were some of the aspects of international politics that had a definete influence. The extent of the western political influences, which was and still is great in the I.O.C., is one of the factors which jeopardizes the future of the Olympic Movement.[31] The boycotts and pull-outs and the current debate over the Seoul (1988) Olympics are some of the manifestations of the international politics that influence the Olympic Movement.

A very important recent development between the U.N. and UNESCO, on the one hand, and the I.O.C. on the other, is over the balance of power and control over the organization. In recent years we have observed a difference in the balance of power and control in the U.N. Because of the almost universal membership of the U.N. and the principle of one state-one vote in UNESCO, a strong block has been formed in the U.N. and in UNESCO. The coalition of the non-aligned and socialist countries against the western capitalist countries has turned the U.N. and its specialized agencies concerned with education and health into socialist dominated and controlled organizations. The recent pull-out of the U.S.A. and the United Kingdom from UNESCO indicates the above fact. Has this change occured in blocks power and control due to the particular priniciples of one vote-one nation and of universality of membership? Or is it a real reflection of the results of the international social and politico-economical class struggle? These questions are difficult to answer and they are not the focus of this study, but they are important for future study.

The last essential difference, but not the least important, concerns the convention of conferences and General Assemblies in the U.N. and witin the I.O.C. The

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[31] See Riordan's (1984) article as well as Koskinas research paper on the western/ capitalist I.O.C.

Olympic Congresses are convened every nine years. The last one took place in Baden-Baden, W.Germany, in 1981, the next one is planned for 1990. Olympic Congresses can not be considered as a parliament of the Olympic Movement since they are not convened regularly and they do not have any legislative power. They are merely a gathering of the I.O.C. membership in order to increase awareness, brotherhood and friendship among the members of the Olympic Movement.

But the U.N.'s General Assembly is convened every year. Conferences are also often called to consider important international topics, to which all concerned governmental and non-governmental authorities are invited. Castro, in his proposal for a U.N. resolution over the problems of the Olympic Games, proposed the convention of an international conference under the auspicies of the U.N. to discuss the broad problems of the contemporary Olympic Movement.

On Similarities

The U.N. through its specialized agency UNESCO, shares the same aims concerning the development of international sport and the Olympic Games in particular. Kurt Waldeheim, a past president of the U.N., as quoted by Killanin, said that the U.N. and the I.O.C. share some of the same ideological goals, such as: (killanin, 1981)[39]

1. the Olympic ideal also attempts to break down the wall of prejudice that separates people by promoting sport's respectability and universality of causes and purposes;
2. the prevention of discrimination based on colour, race, religion, or sex;
3. the creation of a better international climate of understanding and friendship among the people of the world.

Moreover, the I.O.C. can be compared as to fame with the U.N. (Hoberman 1986:5). Both are very popular organizations: they are also very successful despite their many difficulties. The U.N. has helped to achieve the prevention of large scale war for years; the world has not experienced any catastrophic world wars such as the last two ones. The Olympic family consists of 162 N.O.C.'s which are all recognized by the I.O.C. and work in cooperation with it. The popularity of the I.O.C increased its wealth and it is now able to employ permanent staff for its administrative functions. It can also support many different projects all around the world for the education of coaches, athletes and administrative personel in Olympic sports.

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[39] Speach at the 11th Olympic Congress in Baaden-Baden, W.Germany, 1981.

Both the U.N. and the I.O.C. are non-profit organizations; any profitsdirived by their operations are shared by all the contributing agencies. But the distribution of the profits is directly manipulated by the most powerful groups in both the U.N. and within the I.O.C. This is why in the I.O.C., on the one hand, there is much grievance expressed by the developing nations, which get virtually none of the benefits derived by the hosting of the Games, whereas on the other hand, in U.N., where control is exercised mostly by the socialists and non-aligned nations, U.S.A. and its allies protest against the most of its resolutions.

C. Conclusion

The comparison of the two organizations shows that:

1. Both organizations are politically biased. Both have experienced simillar political problems concerning the admission of socialist and developing natios into their membership. Therefore, neither of the organizations can completely disassociate itself from the international ideological and politico-economical struggle, which permeates all human activity in all its manifestations;
2. Both organizations are dominated by a particular class of nations, for the U.N., by the socialist and non-aligned ones, the I.O.C. by the capitalist class and western interests, which produce biases against the ideological statements and actions for the opposing paradigm;[11] and
3. The I.O.C., unlike the U.N., abuses the principles of democracy and pluralism in international relations, concerning the principle of the universality of membership and the principle of the sovereignity of nations in international organizations, basicaly because its standards concerning recruitment of members are not clearly defined in the Olympic Charter. International Law through its statuses, as aplied

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[11] Empirical evidence of the above fact can be found in Koskinas (1982) work on the I.O.C. Riordan (1984) also mentions the same theoretical assumptions in his article in Washington JHPER. Moreover, my own research on the class affiliation of I.O.C. members agrees with Koskinas in concluding that the I.O.C. is dominated by the capitalist class.

by the U.N. Charter and its G.A., supports the principle of the sovereignity of all countries of the world inspite of their size or power.

Therefore, it will be interesting to analyse the position of the disadvantaged in the contemporary Olympic Movement, the non-aligned and developing nations, in order to understand the need for the democratization of the Olympic Movement.

VI. CHAPTER SIX: The "United Nations" Proposal for the Democratization of the Olympic Movement in Perspective.

A. The Emergence of the Non-Aligned Movement and the Social Context.

The first section of the present chapter aims to situate Castro's Proposal in its socio-political context. An understanding of the social forces behind the man's volition is the most important aspect of our study, in order to realize the Non-Aligned, developing countries' needs for the democratization of the international athletic relations.

In this context, approximately one hundred and ninety three nations exist in the world today. This number has tripled since World War II. The above fact is a consequence of the decolonization process, one of the aspects of the international class struggle.

After the second World War the evolution of the world's socialist system progressed rapidly in the states where the class struggle had been resolved, in favor of the establishment of a diametrically opposite socio-political and economical system from the dominant capitalist system of relations. With the ideological and material patronage of the socialist countries a new liberation movement rose among the many peoples of the world, especially among those who were under colonial rule. Emphatically, it was stated that our epoch is "an epoch of national liberation revolutions, of the awakening of the nations oppressed by imperialism and their liberation from the colonial yoke".(Glezerman 1979,p.5)

The liberation revolutions of the 1950s and 1960's resulted in the emergence of new nations called the "developing" or 'third world countries'. Many authors, in an effort to define the term "developing nations", include in this categorization the socialist countries and China (Leiper 1980:31, Riordan 1986:2). However, our definition for this categorization of countries tends to separate the socialist countries existing today from the developing nations. This is because these two group of countries owe their emergence to diametrically opposed causes. Therefore, by definition developing countries are only those that have developed out of the decolonization process.

Geographically speaking, the decolonization process of the 1950s affected mainly the continents of Africa, Asia, Polynesia and Latin America to a lesser extent. These were the areas of the world where colonialism was dominant. However, if we look at the political impact of the decolonization process we observe that the collapse of the world colonial system lead to the emergence of new political units. These political units in some cases decided to develop their own politico-economical system in a non-capitalist way. But they also wanted to preserve their independence in order to maintain an equal distance from both the capitalist and socialist worlds.

In 1954 the world witnessed the development of a newly emerged political power in the Non-Aligned Movement. The term "Non-Aligned" was coined by the Prime Minister of the Indian Republic, Mr. Jawaharla Nehru in the first Colombo Summit of the 28 states constituting the movement. The term implies according to J. Nehru "a sense of balance or equidistance between the aligned nations and the superpowers", those of socialism and capitalism. (Jackson 1982:6)

To assess the class position of the Non-Aligned movement is a very difficult task. According to Marxist class criteria, the third world perspective belongs to a bourgeois or petty-bourgeois framework. The "third world nationalists who are in power in most of the Non-Aligned countries....are progressive towards socialist reconstruction - in terms of anti-imperialism" and "anti-capitalism ... [but they are also]... reactionary to the extent that they would sooner make their peace with imperialism than surrender power to the masses of their own peasants and workers movements". (Kutsenkov 1985:167) The position of the non-aligned countries and their voting behavior in the U.N. indicates that the developing countries vote 83% of the time with the socialist world and only 13% of the times with the capitalist world. The competition between capitalism and socialism in the General Assembly of the U.N. has been resolved largely in favour of the socialist world. It seems, from the U.N., that the socialist countries appeal is greater among the developing and particularly the Non-Aligned group as they both seem to share some of the same goals for the further development of the world's international relations.

B. The Emergence of the Non-Aligned and Developing Countries in International Sport; Their Sporting Acheivements and Their Sport Policy in the U.N. and UNESCO

The newly independent nations that emerged after the Second World War and the following period of decolonization, moved rapidly to assert their nationhood and sovereignity by joining established international organizations. They possibly thought that their affiliation with international bodies, like the U.N. and the I.O.C. would help to guarantee their sovereignity and independance. The requirements for the acceptance of these newly emerged states in international organizations meant that these nations had to have a stable government, whose jurisdiction was established throughout a given territory, generally quaranteed by the neighboring nations and through international treaties. Therefore, the above statement as was further elaborated by Riordan (1986), can possibly be considered as one of the factors that led to their affiliation with the I.O.C.

Sport is a very popular social phenomenon and because it belongs to the sphere of non-productive activites it could be argued that stands relativelly independent from immediate production needs and from political biases. However, the above argument has never been empirically experienced. The newly emerged countries thought, perhaps, that international sporting activity would be an area where politicial economical, racial and national differences could be bridged as a break to the main paradigm. This thought could be possible because of the Olympic Movement's general humanitarian goals, concerning peace brotherhood and friendship among the peoples of the world, independently of racial, religious, or politicoeconomical differences, which were probably perceived useful to the newly emerged states of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

According to Riordan, (1986:3) the international sporting experience of the developing nations was possibly the only human activity, where they could not only claim topical victories over their colonial rulers, but they could also often beat them in traditional western sports such as cricket or field hockey. What they could not, at the moment, be achieved in economics or politics it could be symbollicaly achieved in sports. The sporting achievements of Ethiopa and Kenya in the Rome, Tokyo, and

Munich Olympics, as well as, the Indian and Pakistani dominance in cricket and field hockey, were early indicators of the athletic powers of the developing world. Starting with the Munich Olympics, and peaking in Montreal Olympics, the Cuban's sporting prowess, in certain fields, proved to be more successful than many North American (Mexico, Canada) or of older Europian nations. Consideration should also be given to some natural and physical anthropological traits of the inhabidants of these newlly emerged nations: the above average heights of East-Africans, and the mesomorphic body types of many West-Africans can possibly count as a contributing factor to these countries athletic performances and success.

The newly emerged countries sporting success can be partly explained by their national aims, which are as follow:

1. National reconstruction and sovereignity;
2. The achievement of national integration of their usually multinational population;
3. The improvement of the defence system through the improvement of the physical fitness of their citizens;
4. The improvement of general hygeine and health;
5. The enforcement or enhancement of different social policies;
6. and finally, to gain international recognition (Riordan 1986:10-18)

In 1954 some of the newly emerged states in the world formed an independent political group called the group of the Non-Aligned nations. The genesis of the group can be compared and related with the activities of the 'Group of 77', which was active already in the U.N., because almost all of its nation-members were the founding members of the new political organization of the Non-Aligned nations. The aims of this political group can be summarized as being:

1. The implementation of a new international economical order.
2. The democratization of international organizations.
3. The declaration of racism and its product zionism as inhuman and unacceptable civil policies; the imposition of sanctions against the specific countries which exercise racial discrimination and which practice imperialism.

The above principles of the Non-Aligned Countries and their position in the international bodies and agencies like the U.N. and UNESCO have influenced and were later reflected in their sport policies, since their sport policy could not develop independently of their major socio-political and economic aims. The Non-Aligned Countries, as well as the socialist world, were basicaly the ones who pushed for a U.N. Conference on Racism and Apartheid. In 1968 they managed to pass a resolution in a U.N. Conference which declared apartheid illegal and lead to the exclussion of South Africa and Rhodesia from the U.N.. At the same time the U.N. ordered its member states to stop any sporting relations with South Africa and Rhodesia.

The Non-Aligned countries also suggested that the U.N. membership should become universal, thus contributing to the democratization of that institution. In the early 1950s and 1960s, the Non-Aligned countries brought many proposals to the U.N. regarding the acceptance of newly independent nations into the institution. They also still struggle for a non-aligned country position in the security Council. The Non-Aligned nations never succeeded in passing the above proposal, which can be considered the most serious negative limitation on the U.N. as being a representative body of all the people of the world.

The Non-Aligned nations were the ones that proposed in UNESCO the establishment of an international committee concerned with the promotion of the high Olympic Ideals of sport and health. Many western athletic powers were panicked, as well as the I.O.C., by the fact that the new international sport organization claimed to share some of the same ideals and to be involved in approximately the same areas of sport as themselves. Initially the I.O.C. ignored the existence of the Intergovernmental Committee for Physical Education and Sport (I.C.P.E.S.) the committee for these areas in UNESCO. Their argument was that the I.O.C. is an absolute power in the protection of the Olympic Games and its ideals and that it was not willing to share this area of jurisdiction with a governmental agency. They stated that politics should be kept out of sport, which paralleled the uniqueness of the I.O.C.'s power to exclude developing and other socialist countries from its membership.

But the Non-Aligned, developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America found I.C.P.E.S. as the only organization through which they could openly express their concerns about the development of international sport activities. The membership of I.C.P.E.S. was mainly composed by Non-Aligned nations' representatives (goverment officials) and thus they held the power. Even today the same holds true as many powerful western-capitalist nations do not have representatives in I.C.P.E.S., being satisfied with the role of the I.O.C. and of the I.S.F.s, which they traditionally control. (Castro 1985:4)

the aims and goals of the I.C.P.E.S. are not widely known,they are:

1. The promotion of the Olympic Ideals of friendship, brotherhood, and cooperation among the athletes of the world, which is to be carried out through the educational system of their nation state members.
2. Support of the struggle against underdevelopment in sports which is relevant to the development of "sport for all" movement.
3. The democratization of international sporting relations.
4. The development of solidarity programs, which would assist the development of necessary infrastructures in the most athletically backward countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.
5. The coordination of national and international bodies involved the promation of sport, like the I.O.C., the I.S.Fs and the N.O.C.s;
6. Finally, the elimination of racial, religious and politico-economical discrimination in sport participation.

However, today, because of the increasing role of the Non-Aligned countries in both the U.N. and I.C.P.E.S. and on the I.O.C., signs of cooperation and coordination of action between the later two committees appears to be easing the Non-Aligned countries' dissatisfaction with the I.O.C.'s policies concerning the two key issues in the Olympic Movement, that of the problem of commercialization and the hosting of the Games. (ibid:312). A recent memorandum signed by the Secretary-General of UNESCO, Mr. Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, representing I.C.P.E.S., and the I.O.C.'s president Mr. Samaranch, aims to establish firm ties of cooperation between UNESCO and the I.O.C. in assisting programs in developing countries. The role of the Non-Aligned countries in UNESCO and I.C.P.E.S. is timely as the memorandum basically promotes their particular interests.[61]

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[61] The memorandum can be found in the Appendixes of the present thesis.

C. The Developing World and The Non-Aligned and Their Relations with the I.O.C.

Developing world is a more general term than the Non-Aligned countries as the former includes by definition countries according to social,political, economical, geographical, cultural and racial criteria. But Non-Aligned Countries means the 102 countries which are only politically aligned. There are many developing countries, like the Philippines, Thailand or Paraguay, that are not members of the Non-Aligned countries coalition, but they belong to the developing world because they satisfy all the other criteria mentioned above.

Within the I.O.C., the group of the Non-Aligned has little effect, mainly because of the I.O.C. policy not to recognize representatives of any politico-economical group of countries. The I.O.C. prefers to deal with these nations by using either terms, "developing countries". I.O.C. usually divides these nations by continents or geographical and sociocultural regions. The above classificaion is not mentioned in the Olympic Charter, but it is used by the I.O.C.'s official publications and documents such as the 'Olympic Review' and in above mentioned memorandum signed by Mr. Samaranch and Mr. Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow.

The developing nations appeared in the I.O.C. during the decolonization epoch of the 1950s and 1960s. Their appearance brought many changes to the Olympic Movement. Their relative success in the Olympic Games, particularly in the track and field events, attracted the attention of the world's mass media and lead many authors to speak of an awakening of a new power in world sport. Abebe Biklia, Kip Kenyo, Mirus Yifter all from developing countries of Africa, attracted the attention of the media and a legacy was created with almost mythical proportions. Sporting specialists from the countries were sent to Ethiopa, Kenya, Tanzania, and Nigeria as well as Cuba later on to try to investigate the causes of the developing countries success in the Olympic Games. Documentaries were produced describing the life and training of these nomadic-athletes of Africa.

Heitanen (1984:104) argues that the emergence of Developing countries in the Olympic Movement "represented a fundamental leap" in the quality of the Olympic Games. The Olympic Movement, but not the I.O.C., reached universal membership, really representing the people of the world. Before 1947, the number of National Olympic

Committees (N.O.Cs) recognized by the I.O.C. was around fifty; the number of N.O.Cs in 1979, though, went up to 140 and it reached 161 in 1986, which is an increase of 92 N.O.C.s over a forty years period. Heinila (1984:27) suggests that the "influence in international sport of nationaly liberated states in Africa, Asia and Latin America has increased enormously between 1970 and 1980". Twenty six N.O.C.s from such countries became members of the Olympic Movement during that period. Today twenty five percent of the I.O.C.'s membership are nationals of developing nations.

However, the developing countries contribution to the Olympic Movement remains problematic both in terms of quantity and quality. Mr Kumar, (1981) [63] who is a member of the I.O.C. in India, stressed that athletic backwardness is the main problem in the developing countries. He said that "sports in countries with a poor economic base which are nowadays euphemistically termed 'developing countries', is not in robust health and suffer from acute malnutrition. So far" he continues "very little thought has been invested by international sport organizations" and their organizers "in finding solutions to the multifarious problems which beset the sports scenario in this area".

But indicating the facts is not enough to resolve the problems. Other authors, such as Kivisto (1984:3) argued that democracy and equality of opportunity in the Olympic Movement and in international sport development can not be achieved as long as famine, povery and financial backwardness exists. To develop sport in these countries, the Olympic Movement should firstly provide equal opportunities, in the sense that it should become a vehicle for the development of sport facilities and sporting managerial and technical services through the allocation of the hosting of the Games to these countries. New Delhi, India had bid to host the 1992 Summer Olympic Games, but the I.O.C. already decided to allocate them to Barcelona, Spain, thus for another time ignoring the call for the promotion of sport in these athletically backwards countries of the world.

Kivisto (ibid:4) also suggested that there is a need to democratize the Olympic Movement in order to provide equal opportunities. For him, democratization means that the sporting gap between developed and developing countries should be lessened, if equality is a basic element in the Olympic Charter. The Olympic Games should not be the

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[63] Speech at the Baden-Baden 11th Olympic Congress, W.Germany

Games of only the most powerful states of the world. Other authors (Heitanen 1984, Castro 1985,) suggest that the problem of the democratization of the Olympic Movement is institutional. They argue that the I.O.C.'s membership composition is unfair to the Developing countries (Heitanen 1984:105). UNESCO in one of its resolutions in 1976 mentioned that "the developing countries are not represented equitably within the governing bodies of international sport associations. Such representation should be based on equality between countries and for this purpose it seems necessary to revise the statuses (Olympic Charter) of certain organizations." (UNESCO 1984:12) UNESCO, basically a developing nations organ, apparently includes the I.O.C. in the above judgement.

Indeed, in 1978 the political vehicle of the developing nations, the Non-Aligned countries Conference, that took place in Tripoli, Libya, emphasized that discrimination existed in the structure of the I.O.C. (Ibid:20)) During that conference, the dominant figure was the President of the People's Republic of Yemen, who noted that "the sovereign rights of the developing countries are violated in the I.O.C. because many Developing countries do not have representatives in the body".(Ibid:21) At the end of the conference ministers and sport officials of the Developing countries signed a manifesto declaring that there was a necessity to coordinate the activities of the Non-Aligned group of countries in international bodies. The manifesto was asking that within the I.O.C. and its subçommittees, efforts should be undertaken to democratize its structure and to lessen its racial, political and religous discrimination. (Jankowitch 1978:309) The above proposals and the manifesto for coordinated action provided the necessary background for Castro's recent proposal for the democratization of the Olympic Movements.

D. Cuba's Role in Leading the Non-Aligned Movement in Sport Policy and Castro's Proposal for the Democratization of the I.O.C.

Cuba is a member of the Non-Aligned group of countries and is one of its founding members. Cuba also provided the leadership for this organization between 1976-1980. It also has one of its nationals on the I.O.C.; its N.O.C. was formed in 1936. Today, Cuba is the most successful country in sports among the Developing nations. (Wagner 1986)[43] In the 1976 Montreal Olympic Games it was 8th in the unofficial medal standing, ahead of Canada and many other industrialized and powerful countries. In the last Pan-American Games, Cuba came second after U.S.A. in the collection of medals, leaving Canada in the third place (Riordan 1986:2-3).[44] The reasons for Cuba's athletic success are both socio-econonical and political. Cuba has spent a considerable portion of its national budget for the development of a sport infrastructure, and for the education of coaches, and sport administrators. A considerable amount of foreign currency investment is made to support its national teams' travel abroad, in orderto compete in the most important championships and tournaments in the world of sport. Cuba has signed bilateral and multilateral agreements for the training of its own coaches, athletes and other athletic personel in athletically advanced socialist countries. Now Cuba is also an important center for the training of coaches and athletes from the Latin American, Caribbean and the other Developing nations of Africa and Asia. Bilateral agreements have also been signed between Cuba and other countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America for the training of sport medical personel in its newly built school in Havana.

There are also political reasons which account for Cuba's success in sport. Sport is a unique societal aspect where Cuba can compete and beat its continental political opponent the U.S.A. The recent world boxing championship in Las Vegas, Nevada (1986) proved the superiority of Cuban boxers over the Americans, despite the previous domination of boxing by the U.S.A. athletes. The above facts are widely used by the Cuban political leadership to increase the patriotic sentiment of the people of Cuba. Politics and sports, for the Cubans are not separable entities. They simply coexist, with the trend in development,which holds that politics determine sport policies at both the international national and local/community levels.

Moreover, consideration should be given to Cuba's affiliation with the Non-Aligned movement of the Developing world. Castro's proposal for the democratization of international sporting contacts, which we will analyse later, partly reflects the Non-Aligned nations' position on the development of international sport and the Olympic Games in particular. The sport policy of the Non-Aligned nations was adopted at the 1978 Algier Meeting of Sport Ministers of the Non-Aligned nations. One of the most important objectives manifested at the conference, which was later reaffirmed at the 1979 Havana meeting of the Coordinating Committee of the Non-Aligned, in the field of sports, was to actively participate in events of the international governmental or non-governmental organizations, in order to intensify the struggle to *democratize the decision-making structure* and to eliminate all forms of racial, political and religious discrimination" (Jankowitch 1978:309).

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[43] Paper presented at the 11th NASSS Conference in Los Vegas, U.S.A., November, 1986.

[44] Paper presented at a faculty lecture at the University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, August 1986)

The manifesto approved at the Havana meeting in 1979, Cuba's president Castro attended, stated the desire of the above countries for the establishment of a new international sport order (Ibid:310, Haralampiev 1982:120) The above objective was passed by the I.C.P.E.S. and adopted by UNESCO firstly under the pressure of the Developing countries and secondly by the socialist world secondly. The manifest was a result of the enormous differences and gaps in sport development between the developing and developed nations, which are basicaly propelled by and through the institutional structures of the international sport organizations. Somebody could argue that democratization can be discussed within the U.N. and UNESCO, where the Developing countries with the socialist block have the majority.

The manifested new International Sport Order (I.S.O.) claim that changes should take place not only in the institutional structure of international sport organizations, but also thatchange should embrace all aspects of sport development. However, the scope of this thesis focusses only on the institutional basis of change, as understood by the Non-Aligned nations resolutions and by the Cuban president's proposal. In fact the manifesto of the Non-Aligned nations had very little impact on the I.O.C. and the I.S.Fs policies. It has received a very minimal coverage by the media in the western world.

On the other hand, when dealing with the U.N., the Non-Aligned nations have consistently pushed for enlargement of the U.N.'s bodies, for democratization on the basis of geographic representation for equality in participation in the decision-making bodies, and for the acceptance of the sovereignity of nations independ of their size or power. (Jankowitch 1978) However, their efforts have not been successful. They have follow these same strategy vis-a-vis their representation rights in the Olympic Movement. The Non-Aligned countries make up 27% of the I.O.C. membership, a considerable increase since 1976 when they held only a mere 5%. Inspite of this five-fold increase between 1976 and 1986, the balance of power in the I.O.C. is still in the hands of the capitalist west. [65] In sum, the resolutions of the Non-Aligned nations conferences propose that democratization of the international sporting order should come through the implimmentation of the principle of universality by both governmental and non-governmental sport organizations.

Based on the above statements and resolutions, the "United Nations'" Proposal, as it was named by the author of this thesis, put forward by Castro aims to "reconstruct and reorganize the International Olympic Movement under the auspices of the U.N.". Castro believes that the Olympic Movement's problems are "institutional and not situational". (Castro 1984) His statement is partly supported by the words of the I.O.C. president, Mr. Samaranch, who is quoted by Castro asking "the U.N. to support the Olympic Movement". Castro believes that "U.N. should take a hand and an interest in sports" as it does "for the sciences, culture, health and industrial development". He continues, "the U.N. should have an agency like UNESCO, UNISEF etc... that will advance, promote and support sports and physical education". This agency "should not interfere with the work of National or International Federations of sport, "but should work independently. Even a reformed Olympic Movement could go on existing parallel to the U.N. agency"(Ibid:4). For Castro the election process is very important; he proposes that "all countries should be represented by delegates-elect in each of them under the guidance of the U.N." (Ibid:4) Furthermore, he argues that it would be preferable if the U.N. handled the Olympics. Because he thinks that "it is not a matter of the U.N.O. supporting the existing Olympic Committee but of U.N. reorganizing and directing the Olympic Movement"(Ibid:4). He also points out that "any profits or any capital gained should be invested for the hosting of the Games by a developing nation, especially the ones with the least resources. They too, should have the opportunities to host the Games and the Games and to play their most important function" of developing "mass sport all around the planet". (ibid, p.4)

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[65] See the 1986, 1979, 1968 biographic lists of the I.O.C. membership published by the I.O.C. Lausanne, Switzerland in same years.

E. The "United Nations" Proposal for Restructuring the Olympic Movement, in Perspective.

Castro's proposal certainly needs more elaboration and explicitness. However, the proposal illustrates Castro's original ideas, which help to broaden the Developing World's perspectives concerning their position in the I.O.C. and the general development of their mass sport movements. Examining the proposal closelly and contrasting it to the I.O.C. moratorium with UNESCO-I.C.P.E.S., we realize its deficiencies in that it ignores Mr. Samaranch's statements -in the above moratorium- which indicated that the I.O.C. would never approve and did not wish to share its power with other international bodies in the development of the Olympic Games Movement. Unfortunately, Castro could not predict the unexpected memorandum signed by the Secretary-General of UNESCO and the President of the I.O.C., concerning matters of non-intervention and involvement with the internal affairs of the I.O.C. from any external international governmental agency; the memorandum was signed one year after the publication of Castro's Proposal.The reason for which the I.O.C. and UNESCO signed the agreement was stated as the effort to overcome administrative confusion and overlapping of tasks.However Castro's Proposal is still valid.

But we do not understand, why Castro asked the U.N. to intervene instead of UNESCO. Does he trust UNESCO and its I.C.P.E.S.? Perhaps Castro does not trust the I.C.P.E.S.-UNESCO based organization because it does not have universal membership and secondly because the U.S.A. does not participate in UNESCO. Therefore UNESCO's agreements are not binding on the U.S.A. According to the analysis of the ICPES's minutes from its last session, we understood that the memorandum signed by Mr. M'Bow and Mr. Samaranch was not acceptable to sport officials of the Non-Aligned nations. ** They held that the decision to go ahead and sign the memorandum with the I.O.C. was inappropriate, since the memorandum's terms had not been brought forward for discussion and evaluation by the general membership of ICPES. (UNESCO, 1984)

Castro does not specify what the international status of the new agency would be in his proposal. What its relation would be to the other important component parts of the Olympic Movement, the I.S.Fs and N.O.Cs in also unclear. Also Castro has not

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**To be found in the Appendixes

indicated how the new U.N. Olympic Games Movement is going to be financed or how the debt-stricken U.N. will find the money needed to finance the summer and winter Games. However, the proposal has one basic and positive aspect, which is quite original; where it refers to the election of the membership of the new agency. The proposal that each country should delegate its members to the agency's body is very legitimate and well supported in international law and in previous literature on the subject. Here we should mention that Castro's proposal continues the Non-Aligned countries push to democratize the I.O.C. and that it is structured under the very laws of dialectical and historical materialism. Castro's proposal suggests that negation of the Olympic Movement should occur immediatelly so that the devoloping world can exploit the beneficial aspects of the International Olympic sports. For Castro the I.O.C. should be rejected and negated for the United Nations organization. This external force he thinks will provide a better formation for athletics to flourish. However, as we described above we have some reservetions with Castro's proposal as a whole, and particularly when considering the financial difficulty of an Olympic project; for this reason we should try in the next section of this chapter to conclude with the development of a more universal proposal which aim is to accomodate all the positive aspects of proposals made before Castro thus refining Castro's one.

F. Conclusion: Refining the United Nations Proposal.

Based on Castro's, Haitanen's, Kiyokawa's, and Solokov's analysis of the Olympic Games's institutional problem and their proposals for reform, we conclude and suggest that: the convention of an international conference on the problems of the contemporary Olympic Movement should occur under the auspices of the U.N. as was the case with other global problems. In that conference both governmental and non-governmental organizations responsible for the promotion of competitive sports should participate. The resolutions of such a conference should be binding on the Olympic Movement and the I.O.C.. The agenda of the conference should be prepared through the cooperation of the I.O.C., the I.S.Fs and the General Assembly of the N.O.Cs. The consideration of the establishment of an international Olympic fund or bank should be on the agenda as well in order to finance projects for the construction of

Olympic facilities in the developing countries.(Oduyale, 1982)) If we accept Castro's argument that the problem of the Olympic Movement is institutional, the agenda should also include a statement on the acceptance by any international sport organization of the principles of universality of membership and the principle of the sovereignity of all recognized countries by the U.N., as well as the principle of delegation and election of members; instead of the currently used principle of co-option used by the I.O.C. Therefore the role of the U.N. will be largely to plan, to advise and to coordinate, that is, to make the arrangements through which the democratization process in the international sport bodies and the I.O.C. is first of all initiated and then hopefully concretized.

This attempt towards a proposal has some weaknesses which can be highlighted as follows: the problem with the history of many unsuccessfull conferences held by the U.N; the fact that the proposal presupposes the I.O.C.'s cooperation, which can be predicted as very improbable, because of its own undemocratic procedures and structure; and the fact of the diminishing role of the U.N. in the international political arena, due to the idealogical class struggle and the harsh instances of confrontation in the U.N.O.

However, despite the above weaknesses we see the suggested conference as the only probable correct negation of the I.O.C. and its practices; that means that if the I.O.C. does not agree to participate in a U.N.'s Conference then it would probably mean we have to accept and propose ourselves the further propagation and implementation of the Castro's "United Nations'" Proposal, as the last measure to get rid of the undemocratic and neo-feudalist I.O.C. and to avoid the consequences of the one-sided implementation of the Olympic principles by the I.O.C. Therefore, if possible, negation should first be tried to take place from within the I.O.C. If this fails then our last measure should depend on the application of the Castro's policies. In this case we should also understand that the Olympic Movement is negated every day from the continuation of the arms race and the trilion in dollars spend for the production of all kind of nuclear and chemical weapons. The very essence of Olympism and the Olympic Games is every day negated by the arms race. Therefore, it would be a good idea if Castro would extend his negation of the I.O.C. and the Olympic Movement depending upon and conditioned by the end of the arms race and the final reduction of any kind of nuclear threat. Then Olympism would have ultimately achieved its reincarnation and would have fully expressed the concepts of friendship, brotherhood and understanding among the people of our struggling world. However, the problems of underdevelopment are not easy to be resolved; but Castro's and our own 'proposal' are at least honest efforts toward a possible resolution in the above direction. We should also mention here at the final paragraph that Castro's Proposal as well our approach to a possible resolution to the problem of the democratization of the I.O.C. are pure and accurate efforts to apply the major principles of dialectical and historical materialism. Furthermore, we would like to believe that our approach made an effort to avoid the problems deriving from a mechanical interpretation of dialectical and historical materialism.

VII. CHAPTER SEVEN: Conclusion and Recomedations.

A. Summary and Conclusion.

The main problem of this thesis was to utilize the the general theory of dialectical and historical materialism and to compare and contrast the ideological and structural principles of the "United Nations'" Proposal, with those of the U.N. and I.O.C., so that we could access the possible implications that the "United Nations'" Proposal might carry for the democratization of the international Olympic Movement.

In the first chapter we outilined all relevant previous literature to the problem of democratization of the Olympic Movement in general and the I.O.C. in particular. A list of contemporary authors agree that there is a serious problem of inequality within the Movement. They particularly dealt with the problem of the opening of the I.O.C. to all N.O.Cs and I.S.Fs, as well as, broadly speaking, for the provision of equality between the different genders, races, colors, political ideologies and nations. It was suggested that reform and change of the structural premices of the Movement are necessary. It was also stated that unless the Movement democratizes its membership in the I.O.C., the antithesis between the socialist and capitalist world will deepen resulting in disunity and misunderstanding, quite contrary to the initial goals of the Olympic Movement.

In the second chapter, we attempted to outline the general theory of dialectical and historical materialism and how it addresses the problem of quantitative and qualitative changes, the problem of the unity and the struggle of opposites and lastly the problem of the negation of negation of the Olympic movement as a whole.

Some quantitative and qualitative changes were identified and how these changes affect the unified struggle of the opposite ideologies in the Olympic Movement. Two main opposite ideological paradigms were isolated, these of socialist and capitalist ideologies, as well as the recent developing ideology of the Non-Aligned world, which made its appearance in the Olympic Movement in the 1960s and 1970s.

The negation of the Olympic system was examined and a critical critique of the western-bourgeois perspectives, concerning the negation of the Olympic System, was offered, as being in contrast to a socialist-working class perspective. One of the manifestations of negation in the Olympic Movement was established as being the limited or disrupted international sporting contact, in the forms of boycotts and pull-outs. This leads, naturally, to a counter to the Olympic Movement's ideology, of peace, understanding and brotherhood. Moreover, it was suggested that only peacefull negation of the Olympic system should occur, since the newly emerged forces of socialism and non-alignment are not yet so powerful that they could enforce a revolutionary type of negation. The problem of the peaceful negation of the contemporary Olympic Movement's values was appropriately connected with the problem of the democratization of the aristocratic-capitalist I.O.C.

In the third chapter we delineated the ideological and structural principles of the I.O.C. The review of pertinent literature revealed that the I.O.C. and its founder Piere de Coubertin used different criteria for the selection and recruitment of membership between the 1920s and 1940s period, in contrast to contemporary I.O.C. regulations. An explanation to the above fact could not be provided, however it was hypothesised that it perhaps was due to the socio-political and economical context of the epoch. Certainly, further research is needed in order to identify the causes of the changes in the I.O.C's criteria for the selection of its membership overtime.

It was proposed that the I.O.C. still holds feudalist, aristocratic values, concerning democracy and equality of opportunity, despite its genesis in a capitalist epoch. The principle of cooptation used for the selection of membership is probably the criterion which characterize the I.O.C. as a feudalist-capitalist type of organization. We can say with confidence that the I.O.C. does not stand beyond class-politics and class-ideologies. If it did so, we would not have any boycotts and pull-outs. Our logico-historical and theoretical study of the I.O.C. affirmed the previous findings about power and control in it. The politics and ideology of the monopoly-capitalist class is dominant in the I.O.C., despite the significant athletic contributions to the Movement by the socialist and developing nations.

It was also suggested that the I.O.C. should drop its position concerning *autonomy* and that it should, on the contrary, consider the further re-organization and reform of its structural and ideological foundations; in order to cooperate and coordinate its activities with other national and international governmental and non-governmental sport agencies involved in the Olympic Movement.

The pros and cons of the government's involvement into Olympic sport were analysed, and it was suggested that the new Sport for All Movement, which policy the I.O.C. has already endorsed and adopted, needs assistance in the governmental level, so that it can become a real public service.

The mechanisms of power and control in the I.O.C. were dealt with in a separate section within chapter three, and it was indicated that the concept of class is pivotal to gain an understanding of the I.O.C.'s policies. The international class struggle has permeated the Olympic Movement. Its specific manifestations are: a) the boycotts and pull-outs, b) the commercialization of the Games, c) the debate over Rule 26, d) the criteria for the I.O.C.'s membership and e) the exclusion of the N.O.C. of the Peoples Republic of Kampuchea.

Despite, our previous topical critique of the selection system of the I.O.C.'s membership, a separate section was utilized in order to offer an overall analysis and summary of its basic deficiencies and to suggest appropriate solutions according to the principles of International Law. The existing undemocratic selection system basically favors the capitalist-western and commercial interests. The commercialization of the Games has taken on massive dimensions and alienates both athletes and non-athletes. More research is needed to investigate further the above theoretical generalization. It was also suggested that to avoid the problems of the commercialization of the Games, the I.O.C. should reform its structure and adopt the principle of universality for membership and the principle one nationone vote, which are the contemporary accepted statuses of International Law.The possible benefits and costs of the implimentation of the above principles were discussed briefly. The benefits outlined in the text show that the actual positive quantitative and qualitative consequences deriving from the implimentation of the universality principle, are far more significant, for the welfare of the Movement and its direction in a non-capitalist development, rather than its costs. However, further empirical research is needed for the examination of our own theoretical findings.

Moreover, in chapter four we investigated the U.N.'s and UNESCO's involvement in international sport and the Olympic Movement. We concluded the the U.N.'s aims and principles are overlaping with those of the I.O.C., which became evident after the recent signing of the UNESCO - I.O.C. moratorium on Olympic cooperation. Therefore, Castro's claim for a possible U.N. intervention in the Olympic Movement becomes now more complicated, because UNESCO is a chartered U.N.'s agency with only relative independence. However, UNESCO's International Committee for Physical Education and Sport does not has universal membership as the General Assembly of the U.N. This is the only explanation we have for Castro's and the Non-Aligned nations' position to involve directly the U.N. instead the (I.C.P.E.S.) of UNESCO. Probably, U.N. is a better forum for the discussion of the problems of international sport relations and the Olympic Movement's in particular. The U.N. was found to follow a more open policy concerning the representation of nations in it, according to the general principles of International Law. The structure of the U.N. is more democratic (open) than this of the I.O.C., because of its almost universal membership and the one nationone vote principle, which is exercised in its General Assembly.

Power and control functions in the U.N. were also examined and it was shown that the organization is dominated by the socialist and Non-Aligned nations and their ideologies in both the General Assembly and UNESCO. This is perhaps one of the reasons why Castro asked the U.N. to intervene in the Olympic Movement, as fact, which, of course, is not appreciated by the capitalist-western-commercial powers and their representatives in the I.O.C. However, we can hypothesise that Castro's proposal will receive a hostile treatment by the capitalist nations' representatives in the U.N.

Moreover, the comparative study of I.O.C. and U.N. has shown that both organizations are politically biased. They both experienced similar political problems, concerning the admission of socialist and other developing nations in their membership. This is due to the aspects of the international ideological political and economical class struggle and its reflection in international relations.

In the final chapter of our thesis we examined the logico-theoretical and methodological arguments of Castro's proposal. We offered a critique of his proposal based on our previous analysis of the ideological and structural principles of both the U.N. and I.O.C. as conected sometimes with their current practices. Castro's proposal for the establishment of an independant inter-governmental body within U.N., which will counteract I.O.C.'s policies, as related to the development of Olympic sport and the international sport relations in general, finds us in opposition (at least for the current historical epoch). It is obvious that Castro is not satisfied by UNESCO's policies and its moratorium with the I.O.C. He either opposes the moratoriumin or he is not aware of it. But, even in the case that he was aware of it, we beleive that he would not agree with its philosophy. Cooperation with the I.O.C. seems very improbable for Castro, despite its call to the I.O.C. to consider his claims and reform its structure. On the contrary, we suggest that the I.O.C. may be in a process of slow, but progressive changes towards universality of membership. Recently, the Non-Aligned nations' representation in the I.O.C. has been significantly increased to the one forth of its membership. Cooperation with the I.O.C. is necessary because of its contribution to the establishment of the Modern Olympic Movement. it is intented with the presented analysis to partly support Castro's proposal, and to enrich it, by taking it further from its conventional deficiencies, which were probably caused because of the lack of comparative methodology in his reference to the U.N. and I.O.C. Our proposal is also based on the writings of a cross-cultural sample of Olympic officials and sport sociologists both from the socialist and capitalist world. Our ideas were based particularly on the works of Riordan, Koskinas, Kiyokawa, Heitanen, Kivisto, Talberg, Kruger, Castro, Ponomariev, Solakov, Antonov, Haralampiev, Krottee, and Leiper. Our attempt can be characterized as a less radical and more "Olympic" [47] as compared with Castro's approach.Our position holds that we should freeze, for the moment, Castro's proposal for the establishment of a counter I.O.C. "Olympic" organization under the auspices of the U.N. In the mean time, we would like to suggest the convention of an Olympic Conference under the auspices of the U.N. In this conference both governmental and non-governmental organizations should take part. The resolutions of such a conference should be binding for any organization participating and provisions should be made so that individuals would not be invited. The agenda of the conference should be prepared collectively by the I.O.C., the representatives of the N.O.Cs, the representatives of the I.S.Fs and the representatives of U.N. and UNESCO as well as the I.O.A. All representatives should be elected democratically by all international agencies. They should also have equal voting power in the assembly.

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[47] Some might argue that we reject the proposal despite our arguments against the furter commercialization of the Games by the I.O.C. and its associates.

Because we accept Castro's initial comment that the problem of the Olympic Movement is institutional, we beleive that the agenda should necessarily include a statement for the acceptance from any international sport organization of the principle of universality and one nation-one vote principle, as well as the principle of delegation and election of members as practiced by the U.N. Moreover, the consideration of the establishment of an international Olympic fund or bank, in order to finance projects for the construction of Olympic facilities in the developing nations of our world. In addition, we could also accept the establishment of a committee, as was proposed by Castro, which, though, should be elected from the conference's delegates and their organizations, in order to supervise the publication of the resolutions of the conference and its future implimentation by the signatories of the final draft. Therefore, the role of U.N. will be to plan, advise, and coordinate for the convention to be possible, thus contributing to the democratization of the Olympic Movement's structure and ideology.

B. Implications and Recommendations for Further Research on the Problem of the Democratization of the Olympic Games' Movement.

We feel that our proposal should be brought to the attention to all our colleagues, sport administrators, sociologists, athletes, and political leaders for further discussion and debate on its main points. Our own proposal is going to be exposed in a poster session to be organized by the Congress's Organizing Committee in the University of Calgary, in February 1987, in which conference will be present many Olympic Officials and scientists working in the field of the Olympic Movement. It will also be brought up for discussion in the International Congress of HISPA to take place in Gubbio, Italy, in June 1987. We hope that we will attract the attention of the Olympic authorities and we should also try to publisize the results of our study. Canadian Tribune, a Toronto based newspaper, has already agreed to publish our proposal for the democratization of the Olympic Movement. Furthermore, we will try to demonstrate the advantages of our proposal among the United States Committees' members in their next meeting in Indianapolis. Also there will be some implications of this thesis for the author's personal carrier as a sport sociologist, since he plans to extend his search for the democratization of the Olympic Movement through his future PhD. work.

There are also some very important recommendations to be made, concerning the democratization of the Olympic Movement. Mainly recomedations for further research in the Olympic Games phenomenon. These should include: the thorough investigation of the research question, of why the I.O.C. had different standards concerning the selection of its membership between the 1920s and 1940s in contast to today's ones; the examination of such a research question needs the investigation of primary data existing only in the I.O.C. archives in Lausanne, Switzerland (the minutes of the I.O.C.'s general sessions and other congresses starting at least with the 1900s up untill the 1980's) the development of a history of the govermental or state involvement in the Olympic Movement and its projects, like the Olympic Solidarity program of the I.O.C., I.S.Fs and N.O.Cs; and examination of the question, of whether governmental involvement in sports increases the participation rights of people in sports, is still in doubt.

Other further studies requiered include the study of other aspects of the Olympic Movement's democratization and availiability to the masses of people is the question of whether the further commercialization of the Olympic Movement changes the very nature of it and the role of big corporations and other capitalist interests in the Olympic Games, in a historical context in order to understand the future of the Movement.

Most importantly, research is needed to assess the necessery criteria/standards for the selection of the I.O.C.'s membership. More reliable measures for the investigation of the contributions of each country in the contemporary Olympic Movement is required, if this is going to be the main factor determining the country's or region's position in the I.O.C. Success levels of different countries and regions in the Olympic Games is far from being a satisfactory indicator of the country's contribution to the Olympic Games.

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Appendix A

The Members of the International Olympic Committee
(In order of seniority)

THE MARQUESS OF EXETER (Great Britian) – age 75, elected 1933. Politician and businessman. Gold medalist in 400m hurdles in 1928, silver medalist in 4x400m relay in 1932. Chairman of organizing committee for 1948 Games in London. President of IAAF (track and field federation) from 1946-76.

FRANCOIS JOSEPH II, Prince Regnant of Liechtenstein – age 74, elected 1936.

JORGE VARGAS (Phillippines) – age 90, elected 1936. Lawyer, businessman.

JEAN, Grand Duke of Luxembourg – age 59, elected 1946.

REGINALD HONEY (South Africa) – age 94, elected 1946.

RAJA BHALINDRA SINGH OF PATIALA (India) – age 61, elected 1947. Estate owner.

LORD LUKE OF PAVENHAM (Great Britain) – age 75, elected 1951. Company director.

THE COUNT DE BEAUMONT (France) – age 76, elected 1951. Competitor in shooting 1924. Banker and company director.

GIORGIO DE STEFANI (Italy) – age 76, elected 1951. Former Davis Cup player and president of Intl. Tennis Federation. Lawyer.

CONSTANTIN ANDRIANOV (USSR) – age 70, elected 1951. Civil servant.

GEN. VLADIMIR STOYTCHEV (Bulgaria) – age 87, elected 1952. Competitor in equestrian events, 1924 and 1928. Army officer.

THE LORD KILLANIN (Republic of Ireland) – age 66, elected 1952. IOC Past President. Journalist, author, film producer, company director.

CHEIK GABRIEL GEMAYEL (Lebanon) – age 73, elected 1952. Businessman.

JULIO GURLEI COMELIN (Colombia) – age 78, elected 1952. Businessman.

BARON DE GUELL (Spain) – age 67, elected 1952. Banker.

DOUGLAS F. ROBY (USA) – age 82, elected 1951. Former AAU President. Manufacturing executive. Ypsilanti, MI.

ALEJANDRO RIVERA BASCUR (Chile) – age 77, elected 1955. Lawyer.

SUAT ERLER (Turkey) – age 70, elected 1955. Businessman.

PRINCE GHOLAM REZA PAHLEVI (Iran) – age 57, elected 1955. Brother of the former Shah.

ALEXANDRU SIPERCO (Romania) – age 60, elected 1955. Author.

WILLI DAUME (West Germany) – age 67, elected 1956. Competitor in basketball in 1936. Industrialist.

EDUARDO DIBOS (Peru) – age 83, elected 1958. Company director.

SYED WAJID ALI (Pakistan) – age 69, elected 1959. Company director.

REGINALD ALEXANDER (Kenya) – age 66, elected 1960. Company director and management consultant.

BORIS BAKRAC (Yugoslavia) – age 68, elected 1960. Engineer and statesman.

AHMED ELDERMERDASH TOUNY (Egypt) – age 73, elected 1960. Politician and cooperative director.

WLODZIMIERZ RECZEK (Poland) – age 69, elected 1961. Lawyer.

HADJ MOHAMMED BENJELLOUN (Morocco) – age 68, elected 1961. Company director.

SIR ADE ADEMOLE (Nigeria) – age 74, elected 1963. Former Chief Justice of Nigeria.

JOAO HAVELANGE (Brazil) – age 64, elected 1963. Competitor in swimming in 1936 and water polo in 1952. President of the Intl. Soccer Federation. Lawyer.

MARC HODLER (Switzerland) – age 62, elected 1963. President of Intl. Ski Federation. Lawyer.

GEN. RAUL PEREIRA DE CASTRO (Portugal) – elected 1963. Army officer.

ARPAD CSANADI (Hungary) – age 57, elected 1964. Former captain of national champion soccer team, Ferencvaros. University professor of physical education.

PRINCE ALEXANDRE DE MERODE (Belgium) – age 46, elected 1964. Company director.

MAJOR SYLVIO DE MAGALHAES PADILHA (Brazil) – age 71, elected 1964. Competitor in 110m and 400m hurdles in 1932, finalist in 400m hurdles in 1936. Army officer.

GIULIO ONESTI (Italy) – age 68, elected 1964. Chairman of the organizing committees for 1956 Winter Games at Cortina d'Ampezzo and 1960 Summer Games at Rome. Lawyer.

GUNNAR ERICSSON (Sweden) – age 61, elected 1965. Businessman.

FRANTISEK KROUTIL (Czechoslovakia) – age 73, elected 1965. Lawyer.

PYRROS LAPPAS (Greece) – age 80, elected 1965. Vice-admiral.

MOHAMED MZALI (Tunisia) – age 55, elected 1965. Statesman and writer.

JUAN ANTONIO SAMARANCH (Spain) – age 60, elected 1966. IOC President. Industrialist and diplomat.

HEINZ SCHOEBEL (East Germany) – age 67, elected 1966. Publisher.

JAN STAUBO (Norway) – age 60, elected 1966. Shipowner and industrialist.

PAAVO HONKAJUURI (Finland) – age 66, elected 1967. Company director.

PRINCE TSUNEYOSHI TAKEDA (Japan) – age 71, elected 1967. Army officer.

JAMES WORRALL (Canada) – age 66, elected 1967. Competitor in the hurdles in 1936. Lawyer.

AUGUSTIN CARLOS ARROYO (Ecuador) – age 57, elected 1968. Lawyer and diplomat.

JOSE BERACASA (Venezuela) – age 57, elected 1968. Company director.

DR. ABDEL MOHAMMED HALIM (Sudan) – age 70, elected 1968. Physician.

LANCE CROSS (New Zealand) – age 68, elected 1969. Retired television executive.

RAYMOND GAFNER (Switzerland) – age 65, elected 1969. Lawyer.

LOUIS GUIRANDOU-N'DIAYE (Ivory Coast) – age 57, elected 1969. Diplomat.

MASAJIKIYOKAWA (Japan) – age 67, elected 1969. Gold medalist in 100m backstroke in 1932, bronze medalist in 1936. Company director.

VIRGILIO DE LEON (Panama) – age 61, elected 1969. Managing director.

MAURICE HERZOG (France) – age 61, elected 1970. First mountaineer to conquer Annapurna in the Himalayas. Statesman.

HENRY HSU (Republic of China, Taiwan) – age 68, elected 1970. Hotelier and company director.

VITALY SMIRNOV (USSR) – age 45, elected 1971. Vice-president of Moscow Olympic organizing committee. Physical education teacher.

YDNEKATCHEW TESSEMA (Ethiopia) – age 63, elected 1971. Statesman and writer.

BERTHOLD BEITZ (West Germany) – age 67, elected 1972. Company chairman.

PEDRO RAMIREZ VAZQUEZ (Mexico) – age 61, elected 1972. President of organizing committee of 1968 Games in Mexico City, and designer of its stadium. Architect.

TONY BRIDGE (Jamaica) – age 59, elected 1973. Competitor in pistol shooting in 1952 and 1956. Managing director.

MANUEL GONZALES GUERRA (Cuba) – age 63, elected 1973. Company director.

ASHWINI KUMAR (India) – age 60, elected 1973. Director general of Indian Border Security Force. Writer and poet.

KEBA M'BAYE (Senegal) – age 56, elected 1973. Judge.

DAWEE CHULLASAPYA (Thailand) – age 66, elected 1964. Former Thai air chief marshal.

DR. EDUARDO HAY (Mexico) – age 65, elected 1974. Physician.

DAVID MCKENZIE (Australia) – age 44, elected 1974. Competitor in fencing in 1956, 1960 and 1964. Lawyer.

JULIAN K. ROOSEVELT (USA) age 56, elected 1974. Competitor in Dragon-class yachting in 1948, gold medalist in 1952. Investment banker, New York.

MOHAMED ZERGUINI (Algeria) – age 58, elected 1974. Army officer.

MATTS CARLGREN (Sweden) – age 63, elected 1975. Company director.

DR. KEVIN O'FLANAGAN (Republic of Ireland) – age 61, elected 1976. Former rubgy union and soccer international. Physician.

PETER TALLBERG (Finland) – age 43, elected 1976. Competitor in yachting in 1960, 1964, 1968 and 1972. Company director.

JOSE VALLARINO VERACIERTO (Uruguay) – age 60, elected 1976. Professor.

BASHIR MOHAMED ATTARABULSI (Libya) – age 43, elected 1977. Sports supervisor.

R. KEVAN GOSPER (Australia) – age 47, elected 1977. Silver medalist in 4x400m relay in 1956. Competitor in 400m and 4x100m relay in 1960. Oil executive.

MAJ. GEN. NIELS HOLST-SORENSEN (Denmark) – age 58, elected 1977. Finalist in 800m in 1948. Commander-in-chief of Danish air force.

LAMINE KEITA (Mali) – age 47, elected 1977. Hydraulic engineer.

CORNELIS (KEES) KERDEL (Holland) – age 65, elected 1977. International coal merchant.

SHAGDARJAV MAGVAN (Mongolia) – age 53, elected 1977. Headmaster.

ROBERTO PEPER (Argentina) – age 67, elected 1977. Competitor in swimming in 1932. Stockbroker.

GERMAN RIECKEHOFF (Puerto Rico) – age 65, elected 1977. Lawyer and accountant.

PHILIPP VON SCHOELLER (Austria) – age 59, elected 1977. Industrialist and banker.

LIEUT.-GEN. DADANG SUPRAYOGI (Indonesia) – age 64, elected 1977. Member of Indonesian government, retired army officer.

RENE ESSOMBA (Cameroon) – age 48, elected 1978. Professor of surgery.

YU SUN KIM (Democratic People's Republic of Korea) – age 48, elected 1978. Professor of physical education, sports administrator.

NIKOLAOS NISSIOTIS (Greece) – age 55, elected 1978. Professor of philosophy.

RICHARD POUND (Canada) – age 38, elected 1978. Finalist in swimming in 1960. Lawyer.

HAMZAH BIN ABU-SAMAH (Malaysia) – age 56, elected 1978. Minister of law and attorney general of Malaysia.

APPENDIX B

Medals Won by National Olympic Teams in 1962-1980

Place and Year of Olympic Games	Summer Olympics: National Olympic Teams	Summer Olympics: Medals			Winter Olympics: National Olympic Teams	Winter Olympics: Medals		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1952	USSR	22	30	19	Norway	7	3	6
	USA	40	19	17	USA	4	6	1
Helsinki	Hungary	16	10	16	Finland	3	4	2
	Sweden	12	13	10	Austria	2	4	2
Oslo	West Germany	--	7	17	West Germany	3	2	2
	Finland	6	3	13	Sweden	--	--	4
1956	USSR	37	29	32	USSR	7	3	6
	USA	32	25	17	Austria	4	3	4
Melbourne	Austria	13	8	14	Finland	3	3	1
	Germany	6	13	7	Sweden	2	4	4
Cortina	Hungary	9	10	7	USA	2	3	2
D'Ampezzo	Great Britain	6	7	11	Switzerland	3	2	1
1900	USSR	43	29	31	USSR	7	5	9
	USA	34	21	16	USA	3	4	3
Rome	Germany	12	19	11	Sweden	3	2	2
	Italy	13	10	13	Germany	4	3	1
Squaw	Hungary	6	8	7	Finland	2	3	3
Valley	Poland	4	6	11	Norway	3	3	--
1964	USSR	30	31	35	USSR	11	8	6
	USA	36	26	28	Norway	3	6	6
Tokyo	Germany	10	22	18	Austria	4	5	3
	Japan	16	5	8	Germany	3	2	3
Innsbruck	Italy	10	10	7	Finland	3	4	3
	Hungary	10	7	5	Sweden	3	3	1
1968	USA	45	28	34	Norway	6	6	2
	USSR	29	32	30	USSR	5	5	3
Mexico	GDR	9	9	7	Austria	3	4	4
	Hungary	10	10	12	Sweden	3	2	3
Grenoble	Japan	11	7	7	France	4	3	2
	West Germany	5	10	10	Holland	3	3	3
1972	USSR	50	27	22	USSR	8	5	3
	USA	33	31	30	GDR	4	3	7
Munich	GDR	20	23	23	Norway	2	5	5
	West Germany	13	11	16	Holland	4	3	2
Sapporo	Hungary	6	13	16	Switzerland	4	3	3
	Japan	13	8	8	West Germany	3	1	1
1976	USSR	49	41	35	USSR	13	6	8
	GDR	40	25	25	GDR	7	5	7
Montreal	USA	34	35	25	USA	3	3	4
	West Germany	10	12	17	West Germany	2	5	3
Innsbruck	Poland	7	6	13	Austria	2	2	2
	Romania	4	9	14	Finland	2	4	1
1980	USSR	80	69	46	GDR	9	7	7
	GDR	17	37	42	USSR	10	6	6
Moscow	Bulgaria	8	16	17	USA	6	4	2
	Poland	3	14	15	Norway	1	3	6
Lake	Hungary	7	10	15	Austria	3	3	2
Placid	Romania	6	6	13	Finland	1	5	3

Appendix C

PRESIDENTE
INDER

Ciudad de La Habana, 20 de marzo de 1986
"AÑO DEL XXX ANIVERSARIO DEL DESEMBARCO DEL GRANMA"

Sr. Ambrose Alexandrakis
8912-2B, 112 St.
Edmonton, Alberta
TGG 205, Canadá

Estimado Sr. Alexandrakis:

Damos respuesta a su carta donde solicita algunas informaciones sobre lo planteado por el Comandante en Jefe, Fidel Castro, sobre el Movimiento Olímpico Internacional.

Le enviamos adjunto un folleto en inglés sobre esta cuestión que esperamos responda a su solicitud.

Respetuosamente,

Conrado Martínez Corona

om

669

24 3.86

Ciudad de La Habana, 1 de abril de 1986

Sr. Alexis Alexandrakis
8912 - 2B& - 112 St.
Edmonton, Alberta,
T6G 2C5, CANADA

Señor Alexandrakis:

El Presidente del Comité Olímpico Cubano, Manuel González Guerra, nos hace llegar su carta, donde solicita información sobre las declaraciones efectuadas por el Comandante Fidel Castro Ruz, Presidente de los Consejos de Estado y Ministros de Cuba, con relación a la Crisis del Movimiento Olímpico Internacional, el COI y los Juegos Olímpicos de 1988.-

Con mucho gusto hacemos llegar a usted dos ejemplares (inglés y francés) de la entrevista brindada por el Comandante Fidel Castro Ruz, a los Congresistas Norteamericanos Jeffrey Elliot y Mervyne Dymally sobre la posición de Cuba, referente a la actual situación del Movimiento Olímpico Internacional y los XXIV Juegos Olímpicos de Seúl.

Cordialmente,

Ciro Pérez Lebra
Director
Relaciones Internacionales
INDER

Appendix D

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

INTERNATIONAL CHARTER OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND SPORT

Preamble

The General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, meeting in Paris at its twentieth session, this twenty - first day of November 1978,

Recalling that in the United Nations Charter the peoples proclaimed their faith in fundamental human rights and in the dignity and worth of the human person, and affirmed their determination to promote social progress and better standards of life,

Recalling that by the terms of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth therein without discrimination of any kind as to race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other consideration,

Convinced that one of the essential conditions for the effective exercise of human rights is that everyone should be free to develop and preserve his or her physical, intellectual and moral powers, and that access to physical education and sport should consequently be assured and guaranteed for all human beings,

Convinced that to preserve and develop the physical, intellectual and moral powers of the human being improves the quality of life at the national and the international levels,

Believing that the physical education and sport should make a more effective contribution to the inculcation of fundamental values underlying the full development of peoples,

Stressing accordingly that physical education and sport should seek to promote closer communion between peoples and between individuals, together with disinterested emulation, solidarity and fraternity, mutual respect and understanding, and full respect for the integrity and dignity of human beings, *Considering* that responsibilities and obligations are incumbent upon the industrialized coutries and the developing countries for reducing the disparity which continues to exist between them in respect of free and universal access to physical education and sport,

Considering that to integrate physical education and sport in the natural environment is to enrich them and to inspire respect of the earth's resources and a concern to conserve them and use them for the greater good of humanity as a whole,

Taking into account the diversity of the forms of training and education existing in the world, but noting that, notwithstanding the differences between national sports structures, it is clearly evident that physical education and sport are not confined to physical well - being and health but also contribute to the full and well - balanced development of the human being,

Taking into account, furthermore, the enormous efforts that have to be made before the right to physical education and sport can become a reality for all human beings,

Stressing the importance for peace and frienship among peoples or co - operation between the international governmental and non - governmental organizations responsible for physical education and sport,

Proclaims this International Charter for the purpose of placing the development of physical education and sport at the service of human progress, promoting their development, and urging governments, competent non - governmental organizations, educators, families and individuals themselves to be guided thereby, to disseminate it and to put it into practice.

Article 1. The practice of physical education and sport is a fundamental right for all

1.1. Every human being has a fundamental right of access to physical education and sport, which are essential for the full development of his personality. The freedom to develop physical, intellectual and moral powers through physical education and sport must be guaranteed both within the educational system and in other aspects of social life.

1.2. Everyone must have full opportunities, in accordance with his national tradition of sport, for practising physical education and sport, developing his physical fitness and attaining a level of achievement in sport which corresponds to his gifts.

1.3 Special opportunities must be made available for young people, including children of pre - school age, for the aged and for the handicapped to develop their personalities to the full through physical education and sport programmes suited to their requirements.

Article 2. Physical education and sport form an essential element of lifelong education in the overall education system.

2.1 Physical education and sport, as an essential dimension of education and culture, must develop the abilities, will - power and self - discipline of every human being as a fully integrated member of society. The continuity of physical activity and the practice of sports must be ensured throughout life by means of global, lifelong and democratized education.

2.2 At the individual level, physical education and sport contribute to the maintenance and improvement of health, provide a wholesome leisure - time occupation and enable man to overcome the drawbacks of modern living. At the community level they enrich social relations and develop fair play, which is essential not only to sport itself but also to life in society.

2.3. Every overall education system must assign the requisite place and importance to physical education and sport in order to establish a balance and strengthen links between physical activities and other components of education.

Article 3. Physical education and sport programmes must meet individual and social needs

3.1. Physical education and sport programmes must be designed to suit the requirements and personal characteristics of those practising them, as well as the institutional, cultural, socio - economic and climatic conditions of each country. They must give priority to the requirements of disadvantaged groups in society.

3.2. In the process of education in general, physical education and sport programmes must, by virtue of both their content and their timetables, help to create habits and behaviour patterns conducive to full development of the human person.

3.3. Even when it has spectacular features, competitive sport must always aim, in accordance with the Olympic ideal, to serve the purpose of educational sport, of which it represents the crowning epitome. It must in no way be influenced by profit - seeking commercial interests.

Article 4. Teaching, coaching and administration of physical education and sport should be performed by qualified personnel

4.1. All personnel who assume professional responsibility for physical education and sport must have appropriate qualifications and training. They must be carefully selected in sufficient numbers and given preliminary as well as further training to ensure that they reach adequate levels of specialization.

4.2. «Voluntary personnel», given appropriate training and supervision, can make an invaluable contribution to the comprehensive development of sport and encourage the participation of the population in the practice and organization of physical and sport activities.

4.3. Appropriate structures must be established for the training of personnel for physical education and sport. Personnel who have received such training must be given a status in keeping with the duties they perform.

Article 5. Adequate facilities and equipement are essential to physical education and sport

5.1. Adequate and sufficient facilities and equipment must be provided and installed to meet the needs of intensive and safe participation in both in-school and out - of - school programmes concerning physical education and sport.

5.2. It is incumbent on governments, public authorities, schools and appropriate private agencies, at all levels, to join forces and plan together so as to provide and make optimum use of installations, facilities and equipment for physical education and sport.

5.3. It is essential that plans for rural and urban development include provision for long - term needs in the matter of installations, facilities and equipment for physical education and sport, taking into account the opportunities offered by the natural environment.

Article 6. Research and evaluation are indispensable components of the development of physical education and sport

6.1. Research and evaluation in physical education and sport should make for the progress of all forms of sport and help to bring about an improvement in the health and safety of participants as well as in training methods and organization and management procedures. The education system will thereby benefit from innovations calculated to develop better teaching methods and standards of performance.

6.2. Scientific research whose social implications in this sphere should not be overlooked, must be oriented in such a way that it does not allow of improper application: to physical education and sport.

Article 7. Information and documentation help to promote physical education and sport

7.1. The collection, provision and dissemination of information and documentation on physical education and sport constitute a major necessity. In particular, there is a need to circulate information on the results of research and evaluation studies concerning programmes, experiments and activities.

Article 8. The mass media should exert a positive influence on physical education and sport

8.1 Without prejudice to the right of freedom of information, it is essential that everyone involved in the mass media be fully conscious of his responsibilities having regard to the social importance, the humanistic purpose and the moral values embodied in physical education and sport.

8.2. Relations between those involved in the mass media and specialists in physical education and sport must be close and based on mutual confidence in order to exercise a positive influence on physical education and sport and to ensure relating to physical education and sport.

Article 9. National institutions play a major role in physical education and sport

9.1. It is essential that public authorities at all levels and specialized non - governmental bodies encourage those physical education and sport activities whose educational value is most evident. Their action shall consist in enforcing legislation and regulations, providing material assistance and adopting all other measures of encouragement, stimulation and control. The public authorities will also ensure that such fiscal measures are adopted and may encourage these activities.

9.2. It is incumbent on all institutions responsible for physical education and sport to promote a consistent, overall and decentralized plan of action in framework of lifelong education so as to allow for continuity and co - ordination between compulsory physical activities and those practised freely and spontaneously.

Article 10. International co - operation is a prerequisite for the universal and well balanced promotion of physical education and sport

10.1 It is essential that States and those international and regional intergovernmental and non - governmental organizations in which interested countries are represented and which are responsible for physical education and sport give physical education and sport greater prominence in international bilateral and multilateral co - operation.

10.2 International co-operation must be prompted by wholly disinterested motives in order to promote and stimulate endogenous development in this field.

10.3. Through co - operation and the pursuit of mutual interests in the universal language of physical education and sport, all peoples will contribute to the preservation of lasting peace, mutual respect and friendship and will thus create a propitious climate for solving international problems. Close collaboration between all interested national and international governmental and non - governmental agencies, based on respect for the specific competence of each, will necessarily encourage the development of physical education and sport throughout the world.

Appendix E

FIDEL CASTRO

THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC MOVEMENT, THE SERIOUS CRISIS WHICH WILL ARISE REGARDING SEOUL GAMES IN 1988 AND THE ONLY POSSIBLE SOLUTION.

IMPRESO EN EL PALACIO DE LAS CONVENCIONES
LA HABANA, CUBA, 1985

Last March, Commader in Chief Fidel Castro, President of the Council of State and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, granted a long interview to Prof. Jeffrey Elliot and Congressman Mervyn Dymally of the United States. Many economic, political and historic matters were dealt with in depth in the course of the interview, which continued for several sessions.

As part of that talk, and in response to a question by the interviewers, President Fidel Castro stated Cuba's position regarding the present situation of the international Olympic movement and the next Olympic Games to be held in Seoul in 1988.

The complete text of that part of the interview follows.

MERVYN DYMALLY: Thank you very much. One final question for me, and then Dr. Elliot has two.

Is Cuba going to send a team to the 1988 Olympic in Korea?

FIDEL CASTRO: There's been no decision in this regard. We've addressed the Olympic Committee, raising the need to share the Olympic Games between the two parts of the Korean territory, because we feel that if the Olympic Games are held in a country where a bloody war was waged -- a war in which hundreds of thousands of people from many nations died, which caused destruction and which inflicted deep wounds on the Korean people -- those Olympic Games, as they have been planned, will be sectarian. Rather than uniting, they will divide. Rather than healing the wounds, they will infect them. They won't serve the purpose of peace and cooperation among the peoples. For this reason, we've proposed to Mr. Samaranch, president of the International Olympic Committee, that the Games be shared between the two parts of the Korean territory, as the only possible solution.

The problems that cropped up in Los Angeles should be kept in mind. There wasn't any security in Los Angeles; it would be difficult to argue that there will be any in Seoul under a repressive, bloody regime -- a regime that is an exact replica of Pinochet's or which Pinochet patterned after the Korean one. You know of the horrible violations of civil rights that are being committed there; you know that South Korea is crawling with US bases and US soldiers, besides being the property of US transnational corporations. To insist on holding the Olympic Games as these have been planned, totally disregarding these historical realities, will, I believe, create a very serious problem for the Olympic movement -- no matter how much whistle-stopping Samaranch may do in Europe, in the socialist countries and everywhere else and no matter how many trips multimillionaire Vázquez Raña may take in his swanky private jet to the African countries and the rest of the Third World, after having sold the venue of the 1987 Pan American Games to Indianapolis for $25 million, thus depriving Cuba of that right. In spite of their optimism, it won't be easy for them to extricate the Olympic movement from the enormous trap in which it has been placed.

Let's wait and see what the reaction of the Third World, of the Non-Aligned Movement, will be; what the reaction of the socialist countries – which didn't attend the Los Angeles Games, because of lack of security – will ultimately be; and what China is going to do. (It should be kept in mind that 100,000 sons of the Chinese people died there, fighting against the US troops that invaded what is now the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Frankly, I believe that the Olympic Games as they've been planned, are going to create some very embarrassing situations, morally speaking, for many countries -- not just for the socialist countries but for many Third World countries, as well.

I've talked with several Third World leaders, and they like the idea; they feel it is fair and consider that the only possible solution for the situation that has been created is to share the Olympic Games. I believe it's the only thing that would avoid serious difficulties and a possible setback for the Olympic movement.

The Olympic movement was created in the time of colonialism. So far, the Olympic Games have served to parade the rich, industrialized countries' wealth, good nutritional standards and excellent technique. It would be worth analyzing how many medals have been won by athletes from the Third World, from those countries that lack sports facilities, physical education and sports instructors and proper nutrition for the children and young people from whose ranks the athletes must come. How many medals have they won in the Olympics that have been held, and how many have the United States and the other industrialized countries won? On many occasions, those events serve to foster scorn for the countries of the Third World – the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America: so backward, so incapable, so impotent, so intellectually stunted that they hardly ever win a medal in the Olympics. Every four years, those Games measure the inferiority of the Indians, blacks, yellows and mestizos and the superiority of white society, even though it is the US blacks who win most of the medals for the rich, white, industrialized society of the United States.

Samaranch has requested that the United Nations support the Olympic movement. I agree completely, though I don't think we see eye to eye on concepts, aims and intentions. I feel -- and I have thought this for a long time – that the United Nations should not only take an interest but also take a hand in sports, just as it does with science, education, culture, health, industrial development and the economic relations among countries.

I definitely favor the United Nations' having an agency like UNESCO, UNICEF, WHO, or UNDP that will advance, promote and support sports and physical education. Sports and physical education are vital activities for the health, education, recreation and wellbeing of man. Participating in sports and physical exercise could do more than a million doctors for mankind. Nowadays, physical exercise is used as therapy to prolong life and to combat many ailments. Sports and regular exercise educate, discipline, develop the will and prepare human beings for life and work. I think I owe it to sports that I was able to hold up under the difficult conditions of life in the mountains and then tolerate 26 years of intensive political work without any hypertension or a heart attack. Yet more than 4 billion people in the world have only a vague idea of what sports are. National and international sports organizations could go on operating independently of this United Nations agency to which I'm referring. Even the reformed Olympic movement could go on existing -- but with truly democratic rules, whereby all countries would be represented by delegates elected in each of them -- under the guidance of the United Nations. Even the Church was once reformed, so why shouldn't the Olympic movement be?

Perhaps it would be preferable for this United Nations agency to handle the Olympics. It's a matter not of the United Nations' supporting the Olympic Committee but of the United Nations' reorganizing and directing the Olympic movement.

The resources for sports events should be used to help the Third World countries -- specially the ones with the least resources -- to develop sports, so they, too, will have the right to host the Olympic Games. So far, the Games have been held only in rich countries, with the sole exception of the ones that were held in Mexico. Who have won all the medals in the Olympic Games? What use has been made of the fabulous amount of money that was collected at Los Angeles -- the $200 million? It's been said that the money will be invested in sports facilities in the state of California. There, as well as in the rest of the United States, is precisely where the greatest number of sports facilities already exists. Why isn't it invested in a poor Latin-American country -- in Bolivia, Ecuador or Central America? Why isn't it invested in Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Mozambique or other African countries? Why ins't it invested in helping to build sports facilities in poor countries in Asia and other Third World countries? The granting of $200 million to the richest state in the richest country of the world, shows the weaknesses and anachronistic ideas of the Olympic Committee, which is trying to bring professional sports into the Olympics. This grant amounts to pillage, outright robbery and is morally indefensible, since the proceeds of the Olympic Games are the result of the efforts of the athletes from all countries. Without them, there would be no Olympic Games or any proceeds. They say they're going to return part of the expenses the Third World athletes incurred at Los Angeles. It's as insulting an act of charity as the little presents that Vázquez Raña takes the Third World sports leaders in his private plane.

I tell you: the Olympic movement was created in the time of colonialism, and many of its methods, its style and its ideas are rooted in old ideas dating back from colonial times. We really aren't colonies any more. We don't need counts, marquesses and millionaires to tell us what to do in the field of sports. That's why I'm in favor of having the United Nations take a hand.

Our people have more than enough physical and mental potential for sports; what we don't have is socioeconomic development, sports facilities and food for the vast masses of the population -- and, at times, even for the athletes.

I believe that the same thing is happening in sports as in the Third World countries' economies. Already, the big European cities -- London, Barcelona and Paris, the former colonies' capitals -- are squabbling over which of them will host the 1992 Olympic Games, fighting over where the few athletes from the neocolonial countries are going to play their role as also-rans. What chance does Ethiopia, Mozambique, Angola, the Congo, the Republic of Guinea, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe or any other African country have of hosting them? What chance does Ecuador, Peru, Guyana, Panama, Nicaragua or any other of the more than 100 Third World countries have of hosting the Olympic Games? When will one of these countries be able to host them? That's why I say, again, that the United Nations should step in. I think that, if this problem is discussed there, many interesting things will be brought out.

In short, I feel the same about this concept of the Olympic Games as I do about the relations between the rich industrialized world and the Third World.

You are asking me if Cuba is going to send a team. There's plenty of time to think this over, reflect on it and discuss it with friends in the Third World and the socialist countries. We have a lot of things to say about this.

If the Olympic movement is to be saved, I think they'll have to avoid the catastrophe of Seoul and share the Olympic Games. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea would be willing. I think this would help to save the Olympic movement and then transform it, because it can't keep on going from one crisis to another: a crisis in Moscow, a crisis in Los Angeles and certainly a crisis, the way things are going, in Seoul. That crisis – which is institutional, not situational – must be overcome. Once this is done, the Olympic movement must be transformed -- reformed -- because it can't go on like that. Some tiny European countries that have few athletes have two representatives on the International Olympic Committee, while other countries that are more important in terms of sports have none. This isn't an organization that represents different countries; rather, it is a self-serving, oligarchic, autarkic institution that names its representatives from the countries of the world.

In short, since you asked me, I'll frankly tell you it's an institution that was created and organized along lines dating from the past century -- from the Middle Ages, if you wish -- like the orders of chivalry during the Crusades. It's being manipulated by the big Western economic powers; politics is mixed up in this, and I think the most serious issue is Seoul. Where did that idea come from? Who inspired it? How could they make such an absurd decision?

In any case, as I said, we have a long time to think about it and reach a decision.

Appendix F

Office of the Minister of State
Fitness and Amateur Sport
OTTAWA, K1A 0X6

Cabinet du ministre d'État
Condition physique et du Sport amateur

September 16, 1986

Mr. Ambrose Alexandrakis
P-421 Universiade Pavilion
Van Vliet Physical Education
and Recreation Centre
Department of Physical Education
and Sport Studies
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
T6G 2H9

Dear Mr. Alexandrakis:

On behalf of the Honourable Otto Jelinek, I wish to acknowledge receipt and thank you for your recent letter in which you seek information relating to Canada's involvement with the UNESCO's Intergovernmental Committee for Physical Education and Sport (I.C.P.E.S.).

Canada is not a member of the I.C.P.E.S. and, therefore, the information requested is not available from Fitness and Amateur Sport. I have, however, forwarded your letter to the Department of External Affairs as UNESCO matters come under the jurisdiction of that Department. More than likely, External Affairs UNESCO liaison officers will have access to the information you have requested.

May I take this opportunity of wishing you well in your future endeavours.

Yours sincerely,

Vic Little
Chief of Staff

c.c.: Ms. Jodi White

Appendix G

CITIUS ALTIUS FORTIUS

COMITÉ INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIQUE
CHÂTEAU DE VIDY, 1007 LAUSANNE, SUISSE
☎ 25 32 71/72/73 24 024 CIO CIO LAUSANNE
BANQUE UNION DE BANQUES SUISSES CH. POST 10-2282

Mr. Ambrose ALEXANDRAKIS
Department of Physical Education
and Sports Studies
University of Alberta
P-421 Universiade Pavilion
Van Vliet Physical Education
and Recreation Centre

EDMONTON

Canada T6G 2H9

Lausanne, 26th August 1986
Ref. No. 6768 /86/ses

Re : Memorandum

Dear Mr. Alexandrakis,

Thank you for your letter of 5th August 1986.

* Further to your request, please find herewith a copy of the memorandum of co-operation between the President of the International Olympic Committee and the Director General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

Yours sincerely,

Raymond GAFNER
Administrateur délégué

MEMORANDUM OF CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE (IOC) AND THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANISATION (UNESCO)

In the pursuit of their common goals in the field of physical education and sport, as defined by the International Charter for Physical Education and Sport, adopted by the UNESCO General Conference held on 21st November 1978, and the Olympic Charter currently in force, the President of the IOC and the Director General have greed to co-operate in the sphere of sport for all, particularly in the developing countries. This co-operation, whose conditions will be specified, will concentrate mainly on:

1. An educational programme at a national level of executives specialising in different branches of sport which will be organised through Olympic Solidarity, taking into consideration, as far as possible, requests submitted to the International Fund for the Development of Physical Education and Sport (FIDEPS). This will contribute to the development of sport practised in respect of the Olympic ideal and the principles of the UNESCO International Charter for Physical Education and Sport, with the help of the National Olympic Committees and the assistance of the International Sports Federations.

2. Support of activities undertaken by international organisations closely connected with sport which are in contact with UNESCO and recognised by the IOC (with a view to spreading Olympism and the ideals of the UNESCO International Charter for Physical Education and Sport within sport itself).

3. Projects with governmental organisations concerned with physical education and sport, National Olympic Committees, International Sports Federations, as well as other members of the Olympic Movement respecting the Olympic Charter, with a view to spreading the Olympic concept of sport and the principles laid down in the UNESCO International Charter for Physical Education and Sport, particularly through the teaching of the ideas of Olympism, sport and the said principles at all levels of education.

4. Encouragement of world-wide manifestations aimed at the promotion of physical education and sport, in accordance with the Olympic ideal and the principles of the UNESCO International Charter for Physical Education and Sport.

5. Assistance in organising sports museums and national Olympic academies, linked to the International Olympic Academy whose headquarters are in Olympia, Greece.

6. The organisation of art exhibitions whose theme is the contribution of sport practised in respect of the Olympic ideal and the UNESCO Charter for Physical Education and Sport as well as the affirmation of humanistic ideals.

On a more general basis, the UNESCO Secretariat and the IOC Administration will initiate a systematic exchange of information on the programmes of the two Organizsations as well as other information of common interest. Each Organisation will be able to invite the other to meetings and conferences related to sport which it will organise in its own sphere of activities.

A permanent working group composed of representatives of the Director General of UNESCO and of the IOC Administration will be set up. Its function will be to implement the present memorandum of co-operation, to supervise the exchange of documents of common interest, and to present proposals for the development of co-operation between UNESCO and the IOC, through the Intergovernmental Committee for Physical Education and Sport and the appropriate IOC organisations.

The President of the International Olympic Committee	The Director General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
Juan Antonio SAMARANCH	Amadou-Mahter M'BOW

Date: 18th September 1984